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## Cold dims sparkle of Israel's birthday

Jerusalem Post Staff  
Last night's scheduled Independence Day pageant at Ramat Gan Stadium was cancelled because of the cold weather. The event is now scheduled to take place Thursday.

Thousands of people turned up at the stadium only to be disappointed. Memorial services for the na-

More Independence Day reports — Page 3

tion's war dead were held throughout the country on Sunday. In Jerusalem, despite the cold weather, Sunday night, tens of thousands thronged to the city centre. Liberty Bell Garden was filled until midnight, with folk dancers and entertainers performing for the crowds.

The rain washed out the traditional kumzitzim in the Valley

of the Cross. It also forced Mayor Teddy Kollek to hold his outdoor reception yesterday in the foyer of the Jerusalem Theatre.

President Yitzhak Navon's final Independence Day reception for foreign diplomats, at the Jerusalem Hilton, featured 48 different kinds of food and drink — one for each country that has diplomatic relations with Israel, plus food representing Jordan, Lebanon and Morocco, with which Israel would like to have ties.

Most stores in Jerusalem's Mea She'arim quarter were closed yesterday as shopkeepers took the day off. Members of the anti-Zionist Natorei Karta sect placed stickers on shop windows, declaring that the stores were closed due to "mourning" over the establishment of the State.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

## Green light on Lavi was given by Reagan

By HIRSH GOODMAN  
Post Defence Correspondent

The decision by the U.S. to release technology requested by Israel on the Lavi warplane was made personally by President Ronald Reagan, who was forced to decide between the conflicting opinions of Secretary of State George Shultz and Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger. Shultz was for the sale; Weinberger vociferously opposed it. The National Security Council tended toward Shultz.

The decision was announced officially on Sunday.

The Jerusalem Post has learned from reliable sources that Shultz argued that it was important to indicate to Israel that the U.S. continued to support it, despite the administration's intense courting of moderate Arab states, primarily Jordan. It was also felt that the gesture would influence Israel's position at the Lebanese negotiations, where Israel perceives the U.S. as "unobjective" and actively engaged in encouraging the Lebanese into maximalist positions.

It was apparently the administration's assessment that if it continued to withhold the technology any longer, Israel would either downgrade the Lavi to conform with Israeli technological capabilities and attempt the project alone, or else enter into agreement with one of several European firms that have the advanced composite technology Israel needs.

The decision was delivered to Defence Minister Moshe Arens last week. It basically allows three American firms, General Dynamics, Vaughn and Grumman, to release studies conducted on Israel's behalf pertaining to various aspects of the Lavi. Two other firms were contacted on flight-control systems. Israel paid several million dollars for the studies, all three of which were supposed to have been released simultaneously last October.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

## Death toll at 39 in huge blast at U.S. Embassy in Beirut

BEIRUT (AP). — At least 39 persons were killed and 120 wounded when a car bomb blew up outside the U.S. Embassy yesterday. Five Americans were reported among the dead in the fiery blast that collapsed the centre section of the seven-storey building. Six other Americans were still unaccounted for.

U.S. Marine Commander Col. James Mead said people were still trapped alive in the rubble and that rescue efforts were under way. U.S. Ambassador Robert Dillon was briefly trapped but escaped unharmed.

Many of the victims were Lebanese visa applicants or passers-by.

A police officer on the scene said an estimated 150 kilogram bomb was hidden in a Lebanese police car and detonated by remote control in the embassy's driveway. There is no fence separating the embassy in Moslem West Beirut from the seaside road.

The Christian Voice of Lebanon Radio said a Moslem suicide terrorist drove the car and that it had diplomatic licence plates. A pro-Khomeini group called Jihad al-Islami (Moslem holy war) claimed responsibility, telling the newspaper Al-Litani, "This is part of the Iranian revolution's campaign against imperialist targets throughout the world. We shall keep striking at any imperialist presence in Lebanon, including the Multi-National Force."

Several previous attacks on the Multi-National Force, was unknown before the attacks started earlier this year.

Police and other sources believe the group is linked to a radical faction of the Lebanese Shi'ite Moslem militia Amal, numbering several hundred gunmen. The group is based in the ancient Lebanese town of Baalbek and headed by a 40-year-old school teacher turned militia commander named Hussein Musawi.

Also based in Baalbek, a town of 25,000 in the fertile Bekaa Valley, are Iranian Revolutionary Guards who came to Lebanon last June to help Syrian soldiers fight Israelis.

Lebanese officials have suggested the Iranian Revolutionary Guards and their Shi'ite Lebanese followers

joined in attacks on the Lebanese Army in the Bekaa on March 4. Six Lebanese soldiers and three militiamen were killed in the ambush.

In Washington, State Department deputy spokesman Alan Romberg said the U.S. government doesn't know who was responsible for the blast. He said three groups have claimed responsibility, but he declined to name them or say whether U.S. officials think one or any were responsible.

The official Iranian news agency Irna implied that the explosion in Beirut was a retaliatory strike by Palestinian terrorists.

In an unusual move, Irna, which supplies domestic news to inter-

(Continued on back page)

## Washington stunned by Beirut bomb

By WOLF BLITZER  
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — President Ronald Reagan yesterday pledged to intensify U.S. diplomatic efforts to remove all foreign forces from Lebanon in the wake of the U.S. Embassy bomb blast in Beirut.

The explosion stunned Reagan and his senior staff. It came just as they sensed that Israel and Lebanon were about to reach a breakthrough in their lengthy troop withdrawal negotiations.

Reagan, who first learned of the blast from television news reports in the morning, spoke on the issue during a reception at the White House rose garden. Throughout the day, he was briefed on the mounting casualty count.

Reagan called it "a vicious, terrorist bombing, a cowardly act."

Reagan received a telephone call from Lebanese President Amin



A Lebanese soldier stands in front of the burning U.S. Embassy in Beirut yesterday after a bomb destroyed the centre of the seven-storey building. (UPI telephoto)

## Closed Upper Nablus ceremony dodges demo

By DAVID RICHARDSON  
and MICHAEL EILAN  
Jerusalem Post Reporters

MOUNT BRACHA. — Nahal elders handed over this settlement on historic Mount Bracha overlooking Nablus to 15 civilian families yesterday in an almost unreported ceremony far from a crowd of almost 10,000 boozing peace Now demonstrators.

The weather — rain and hail which swept across the bare mountain 880 metres above sea level — was the official reason given for not holding the military ceremony as planned on a previously prepared stage.

But the presence of the large and deaf Peace Now crowd, which far outnumbered some 3,000 Gush Emunim supporters, and the army's

reported desire not to involve Nahal (the pioneering branch of the army) in a politically contentious ceremony forced the organizers to hand over the army outpost to its new occupants in a more muted fashion than had been planned.

Senior military sources said last night that the army was not involved in any way in the planning or conduct of yesterday's ceremony.

Deputy Prime Minister and Housing Minister David Levy arrived in a Border Police jeep at the muddy site. The crowd of bedraggled settlement supporters and opponents waited for more than two hours in the bitter cold only to be told by MK Hanan Porat that the ceremony they had been invited to attend had not been held elsewhere. Levy could not be reached for com-

ment last night.

Defence Minister Moshe Arens who was also invited said he had a prior engagement. He attended the dedication of a park in the name of Aluf Yekutiel Adam, who was killed in Lebanon.

The 15 families, all said to be members of Gush Emunim, are to move into bright orange and cream prefabricated houses which have been towed up the steep hill in the past three weeks to form the nucleus of "Shechem III" (Upper Nablus), a Jewish quarter which is planned to eventually house 800 families.

Bracha lies some eight kilometres south of Nablus, the largest and most nationalistic Arab town on the West Bank and is separated from (Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

## Beirut complains to Habib of Israeli airfields

BEIRUT (AP). — The Lebanese government was reported yesterday to have complained to U.S. Presidential envoy Philip Habib about newly built Israeli airstrips on Lebanese territory.

The independent Beirut newspaper An-Nahar and the leftist As-Safir said Lebanon has expressed apprehension that such airfields indicated Israel did not plan an early withdrawal from the territory.

An-Nahar quoted a government spokesman as saying that Israel has built two airfields in Lebanon. One on a beach strip in the fishing town of Damour, 16 kilometres south of Beirut, and one near the central mountain town of Ain Zhalta.

## Reagan tells Assad '242 includes Golan'

By WOLF BLITZER  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

WASHINGTON. — U.S. officials yesterday confirmed that President Ronald Reagan had sent a message to Syrian President Hafez Assad reaffirming the U.S. position that UN resolution 242 required an Israeli withdrawal from at least part of the Golan Heights.

The message was sent on Syria's independence day last week.

The U.S. has not recognized Israel's decision of December 1981 to extend its law to the Golan Heights. Since the 1967 Six-Day War, successive U.S. administrations have said that Resolution 242, adopted in November 1967, applied to the Golan Heights — just as it did to Sinai, the West Bank and Gaza.

U.S. officials insisted yesterday that the Reagan message was simply a reiteration of that position. But a State Department official conceded that the mere dispatch of such a communication from Reagan to Assad was politically significant, given the strains between Washington and Damascus over the recent introduction of Soviet-supplied SAM-5 surface-to-air missiles in Syria, manned by Soviet personnel.

Another U.S. observer said the Reagan administration was trying to maintain a decent relationship with the Syrians, fearful that they might later refuse to co-operate with any troop withdrawal agreement achieved by Israel and Lebanon.

In his cable to Assad Reagan said the U.S. was seeking expanded peace negotiations on the basis of

U.N. Security Council resolution 242.

News agencies reporting from Damascus and quoting the official Syrian news agency said that Reagan told Assad he was looking forward to more U.S.-Syrian contacts aimed at the two countries' "common goal of a negotiated peace settlement."

"We think the best way to serve the future of your country and the welfare of your people is to reach a peaceful and just solution to the problems of the area," Reagan said.

"We think that the events of last year (the Israeli invasion of Lebanon) have increased more than ever our urgency to act without failure to deploy our efforts in that purpose."

## Egypt plans big future for Taba

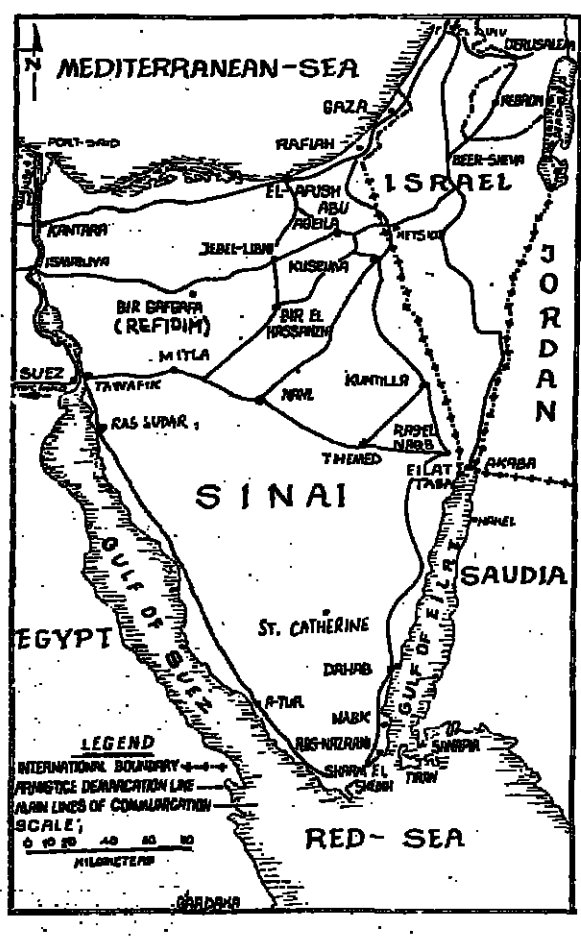
By ABRAHAM RABINOVICH  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

AIRO. — Egypt is to develop Taba as the terminus of modernized Haj Road across north-central Sinai, according to a proposed Sinai development strategy being drawn up by a government-appointed planning team. The road will allow access for pilgrims and goods to the Gulf of Eilat, where lighters will ferry them across to Taba.

Taba is proposed as an important node of Egyptian activity. The Jerusalem Post has learned, despite the dispute between Egypt and Israel over the site on which a luxury Israeli hotel has been built. Until now, Taba has been viewed by most Israelis as being of little practical significance to Egypt because of its distance from the Egyptian heartland.

The Sinai development proposal was drawn up over a past two years by a government-appointed committee assisted by a foreign consulting firm. It is to be submitted to the Egyptian government next month. If the proposal is implemented, Egyptian Taba will be an extensive lightering facilities for shipping goods to and from the Gulf of Eilat. This development would contrast sharply with the "bikini d'etat" environment envisioned for the Israeli side. For centuries, the Haj Road-Darat e-Hajj was the principal route to Mecca for Moslem pilgrims from Egypt and North Africa. Starting near the area of today's Suez City, it wended its way around the central Sinai massif via Mitle, Nahl and Ras el Nakb, near where it descended to the Arava valley and proceeded around the east side of the gulf towards Taba. The last Haj convoy, numbering thousands of pilgrims, left Cairo exactly a century ago, according to a recent report by Prof. Shmuel Tamari of Bar-Ilan University. Pilgrims from the west subsequently sailed across the Red Sea to Saudi Arabia or, in later years, went by air vehicle or aircraft.

Today, the route is navigable by front wheel drive vehicles, according to Israelis who have traversed it. A new stretch would have to be built to link the road to Taba. A planning source in Cairo told The Post that Taba is being considered as an outlet for manufacturing facilities that are to be set up in Sinai to provide employment for a substantially increased population in the peninsula. He said Taba would have close commercial



links with Akaba, which is enjoying a 15-20 per cent population growth rate a year since the Iran-Iraq war made it a major port for Iraqi-bound goods. "There are 1.5 million Egyptians in Iraq and commerce between the two countries can be expected to develop," he said. "The Taba-Akaba route would be a natural way to ship goods if it's not possible to ship through Eilat." Tamari noted that there were half a dozen archaeological sites along the route, mainly remains of fortified way stations from Mameluke times. He urged the Egyptian government to carry out an archaeological survey and salvage work before any road construction gets underway. The central way station, Qalat al-Nahl, was damaged by Israeli forces during the 1956 Sinai Operation, and Israeli archaeologists from Tel Aviv University have proposed restoring it, in cooperation with Egypt.

## Poland restores a synagogue as part of ghetto ceremonies

WARSAW (Reuters). — Poland's shrinking Jewish community was given a new place for worship yesterday with the opening of a restored synagogue, the high spot of celebrations marking the 40th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising.

The dignified ceremony contrasted sharply with the police dispersal on Sunday of about 1,000 attending an unofficial ceremony organized by supporters of the outlawed Solidarity labour union to honour the heroes of the uprising. The police action came on the heels of behind-the-scenes disputes which dogged the anniversary celebrations.

Until Sunday night, Jewish delegations were debating whether

to continue participating in the celebrations because the Palestine Liberation Organization had been invited, along with other diplomatic missions, to lay a wreath at the Ghetto monument.

After what some delegates said was a stormy session, they accepted the government's formula that the PLO would not lay a wreath as part of the official programme. But the organization was not excluded from doing so unofficially later.

The PLO delegate later left on a flight to Prague and said he would be away for 48 hours.

The Communist authorities laid on the most lavish anniversary programme ever, of which the centerpiece was yesterday's re-

dedication of the old Nozy Synagogue, the only one left standing after the Germans reduced the Jewish quarter to rubble in 1943. It survived because of its usefulness as a stable.

Henry Taub, whose American Jewish aid group has close contact with the Jewish community in Poland, now numbering less than 15,000, said in a speech: "The flame of Jewish life barely flickers here today."

By the end of this century, he said, there would be hardly any Jews left.

The authorities have maintained a strict security cordon around the Jewish guests and deployed armed police outside the synagogue. Delegation leaders met communist

leader General Wojciech Jaruzelski before the synagogue ceremony and the Grand Rabbi of Rumania, Moshe Rosen, said: "He spoke to us as a great humanist."

Earlier yesterday, Solidarity leader Lech Walesa was detained while driving from Gdansk to Warsaw to pay his respects to the Ghetto heroes, but was released after nine hours in custody.

Father Henryk Jankowski was detained in Olstyn along with Walesa, his driver and actor Wojciech Duryasz. He told reporters he and Duryasz were released after more than five hours of questioning, and police told him Walesa would be released about an hour later. But there was no report of his release last night.

## British film, TV union urges boycott of Israel

By WIM VAN LEER  
Special to Jerusalem Post

The biggest union in the British television and film industry has passed a resolution calling on its members to boycott Israeli-financed projects and to refuse to work in Israel, except on news and current affairs assignments.

It was proposed by an Israeli reserve officer, who is a member of the Association of Cinematographic Television and Allied Technicians (ACTT), which represents the majority of workers in the industries. IDF reserve Segen (captain) Haim Bresheeth, who heads the film department at West Surrey College of Art and Design, saw his proposal approved by 550 votes to 30 at the union's annual conference in London.

The resolution states that the ACTT "condemns Israel's genocidal attempts in Lebanon, which have been aimed at breaking

up the chosen representative organizations of the Palestinian nation and at rearranging the political map of the Middle East by force."

It calls for an "immediate withdrawal" of the IDF from Lebanon and from the administered territories. And it tells all ACTT members to boycott Israel and Israeli-financed film and television projects "until a just political solution is implemented."

The conference requested that Israeli trade union and media workers be informed of the ban, and said this would be an "effective means of support for the growing struggle within Israel against its oppressive and discriminatory regime."

The union's general secretary, Alan Sapper, who is Jewish, seconded the resolution, and delegates were told not to discuss it with the press.

The chairman of the conference session undertook to bring the resolution to the notice of unions around the world in the hope that they would adopt similar measures.

On hearing of the resolution, Jane Moonman, the director of the Britain-Israel Public Affairs Committee, the Israel lobby in the UK, consulted with the Israel Embassy in London. But a spokesman did not consider the matter of great importance and advised her to "keep a low profile."

The Jewish Chronicle, Britain's top Jewish weekly, quoted Bresheeth as saying it was open to interpretation whether the resolution was actually a ban on ACTT members working in Israel, or a request for them not to do so. A decision on this question would be made by the union's general council on May 8, he said.

He continued: "I know that some people will call me a traitor, but I do not think it is treason to want

recognition for the Palestinians as equals.

"If criticism, however severe, of your country is not allowed, then that is not a country in which I want to live. But I think Israeli society is more healthy than that."

The paper said that Benjamin Selva, representative of the Histadrut in Britain, warned that the ACTT's action could backfire "and Israeli cooperation with British media personnel might be withdrawn."

According to the Jewish Chronicle (Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

EIGHT PAGES  
FROM SUNDAY'S  
The New York Times  
THE WEEK IN REVIEW  
INSIDE TODAY



## The weather at major Swissair destinations

	17.4.83	MON. MAX.	G.F.C.F.
AMSTERDAM	12 14 15 16	15	Cloudy
BRUSSELS	12 14 15 16	15	Cloudy
BUENOS AIRES	14 17 20 23	20	Cloudy
CHICAGO	3 27 2 28	28	Cloudy
COPENHAGEN	7 13 12 13	13	Cloudy
FRANKFURT	11 12 11 12	12	Cloudy
GENEVA	8 16 15 16	16	Cloudy
HELSINKI	2 28 19 23	23	Cloudy
HONG KONG	18 25 21 22	25	Cloudy
JOHANNESBURG	18 21 21 22	22	Cloudy
LONDON	14 17 16 17	17	Cloudy
MADRID	8 11 10 11	11	Cloudy
MONTREAL	1 3 4 5	5	Snow
NEW YORK	2 3 4 5	5	Cloudy
OSLO	7 13 12 13	13	Cloudy
PARIS	10 13 12 13	13	Cloudy
SAO PAULO	20 26 27 31	31	Cloudy
STOCKHOLM	18 24 24 25	25	Cloudy
TOKYO	2 28 19 23	23	Cloudy
TORONTO	1 3 4 5	5	Cloudy
ZURICH	3 7 16 11	11	Cloudy

\* For the latest weather conditions, contact Swissair.

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**swissair**

The weather report is unavailable today due to a strike at the meteorological centre.

## Street cleaner dies in Sidon blast

METULLA. — One man was killed and another wounded when a large bomb exploded in the commercial centre of Sidon yesterday afternoon.

IDF forces and members of Major Sa'ad Haddad's militia immediately searched the area and erected roadblocks on routes leading out of the city. No arrests were made.

Security sources said the blast was apparently caused by a bomb concealed in a heap of rubbish. The man who died was a street cleaner and the man wounded was a shop owner. It was the fourth explosion in the town within a week, but there were no casualties in the other incidents.

(Continued from Page One)

tober. The release was dependent on approval from the State Department, and could only be given when various arms of government had sanctioned the transfer of technology. Shultz added in his letter to Arens that Weinberger had consented to the go-ahead for the contracts.

Since October, Israeli defence officials have been lobbying incessantly at all levels of the administration to have the request processed. They explained that if the technology was held up any longer, the Lavi production schedule would fall hopelessly behind.

More importantly, Israel Aircraft Industries and Beit Shemesh Engines, the two prime Israeli contractors for the project, would not be able to maintain the large infrastructures they had prepared for the Lavi. Hundreds of engineers from around the world, who had been hired specifically for the project, would have to be fired. Thousands of jobs were dependent on the project, and the delay was straining the budget of the project — a budget that is already taxing the economy to its limits.

Israel will now have to examine the three studies before entering into a contract with one of the three firms asked for their tenders on flight control systems, composite materials and the wing section of the aircraft. Most of the electronics will be of Israeli manufacture, as will the weapons' control systems. Flight control will probably be fly-by-wire technology that Israel does not have. A similar system is in the F-16, manufactured by General Dynamics.

The engine will be a Pratt and

## HOME NEWS

# Navon and Begin greet nation

Jerusalem Post Staff

In their Independence Day messages to the nation over the weekend President Yitzhak Navon and Knesset Speaker Menahem Begin both warned of the growing divisions within Israeli society. But Prime Minister Menachem Begin spoke of how Israel had again gone to war to guarantee its security against outside forces.

"The past year was marked by painful inner debates," said Navon. "Of course, there will never be a time when we will all share the same political views — there will always be arguments — the question is whether we will learn how to conduct them."

"I believe the majority of us wish for greater tolerance and mutual forbearance," Navon said, "and these are quite possible, provided every side in the debate restrains itself and does not give free rein to

hostilities and violence."

Begin noted that "the Israel Defence Forces were once again compelled to enter battle against a ruthless enemy of our nation — indeed of the Jewish people — who had built themselves into an armed state within a state in Lebanon, and who had turned Beirut into a centre of international terrorism."

Begin continued: "The one goal of the government of Israel is to live in good peaceful relations with our northern neighbour, Lebanon, whose sovereignty and integrity we respect, and to ensure that never again will the blood of the Galileans be shed."

Savador warned the nation against falling into the abyss of verbal and physical violence that could lead to a deterioration in the spirit and moral fibre of the country.

Navon and Begin both spoke on Israel Television.



Soldiers separate some of the 10,000 Peace Now demonstrators from 3,000 Gush Emunim supporters at Mount Bracha overlooking Nablus yesterday, during the dedication of the new settlement of "Upper Nablus."

## Kiryat Shmona is emerging from the doldrums, says report

By AARON SITTNER  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Kiryat Shmona, the immigrant camp that became a city, is gradually losing its feeling of isolation and has become a social and economic centre for the Galilee panhandle. This emerges from an analysis just released by the Settlement Study Centre in Rehovot for the Construction and Housing Ministry.

The study was completed at about the time of the June 1982 invasion of Lebanon and points to the progress the city has made in education, health services and economic development.

Kiryat Shmona ("city of the eight") is named for the eight fighters who fell in the battle of Tel Hai in 1920. The outcome of that battle is said to have determined Israel's northern borders.

The city was established in 1949 as a ma'abara (temporary immigrant camp) on the site of the abandoned village of Khalsa. The population was composed of three main waves

of immigration: 1951-52, 1955-56 and 1960-61. The newcomers, who were brought there straight from their ships and planes, hailed from Morocco, Tunisia, Iraq, Iran, Kurdistan, Rumania and Hungary.

Transferring immigrants to Kiryat Shmona was one element of the population distribution plan adopted by Israel's first government. As Arab farmers in the region left their homes in the wake of the War of Independence, the land they abandoned was appended to the fields of nearby Jewish settlements. This created a need for more workers, and thus the Jewish population kept growing.

The increased output of agricultural produce called for the establishment of processing plants and these, along with warehousing and marketing facilities, became Kiryat Shmona's first industries.

By the early sixties, many people quitting kibbutzim but still yearning for a pioneering way of life took up residence in Kiryat Shmona. A decade later, residents of the Golan

Heights began to take advantage of Kiryat Shmona's commercial, educational and economic facilities.

By the time Operation Peace for Galilee was launched, Kiryat Shmona was home for eight large mechanical equipment factories, five major textile and clothing plants, 24 medium-sized metalworking shops, 15 carpentry and woodworking establishments, 12 motor vehicle garages, five electrical equipment and electronic assembly plants, five printing industries and scores of assorted small workshops.

The survey found that half of the 16,000 people living in Kiryat Shmona are under 18 years old. "The city has a young image," the researchers wrote. "What is more, Kiryat Shmona's rate of natural increase — 30.5 births per 1,000 residents — is one of the highest among Israeli Jews, with the natural average being 25.6 per 1,000 population."

Besides the 7,000 children enrolled in the city's schools, another 2,000

young people study at the Tel Hai College. This multi-discipline educational institution maintains its curriculum in cooperation with the Hebrew University, the Technion, Haifa University and the Government Technological Training Institute.

Among the students at Tel Hai College are some from Safad and the Galilee panhandle, and Arabs from South Lebanon.

Meanwhile, it was announced that the Absorption Ministry will subsidize 80 per cent of the rent of immigrants whose professional expertise is needed by Kiryat Shmona and who will be willing to work there.

Absorption Ministry Director-General Eli Artzi, who toured the city last week, decided this after learning that there is a shortage of doctors and engineers.

Local officials complained to Artzi about the shortage of sophisticated industry in Kiryat Shmona.

## BRITISH BOYCOTT

(Continued from Page One)

cle, one non-Jewish delegate, Richard Howson, a TV film producer and director, said: "It is disgraceful that an Israeli who claims to be an officer in the IDF should propose a motion that threatens the security of his own country."

Howson, a former lecturer in film production at Tel Aviv University, added: "Of course, he has a right to speak out against the policies of Prime Minister Menachem Begin, but the place to do it is on the streets of Tel Aviv, not through a British trade union."

The paper also quoted Jim Connock, a member of the union's executive, as saying: "It is ridiculous for us to tell our members they should not work in Israel because we do not like the policies of the government of the day."

Jerusalem Post reporter John Borsten adds: "The motion was moved by Itzhak Kol, vice president of the mogul Menahem Golan's G and G studios, described the resolution as 'hypocritical.' He went on: 'I don't remember the last time the British came here to make a movie. We occasionally use British technicians, but we can just as easily get Spaniards and Italians. We didn't boycott the British when they went to the Falklands with an armada. They should leave art to artists.'"

## COLD DIMS

(Continued from Page One)

In Tel Aviv the rain left the city's streets almost empty during the day. But by early evening, people flocked out to celebrate.

Entertainers appeared on seven stages in Dizengoff Street, and the public was entertained by a parade. Many young people refrained from celebrating due to the war in Lebanon. "How can I celebrate when so many of my friends are stuck in Lebanon?" a young man just released from the army asked.

Four people — three of them children — were lightly injured in a fireworks display put on by the Kiryat Bialik municipality on Sunday night — despite a police ban. The four who suffered head and eye injuries, received first aid treatment at the local Magen David Adom station.

In Haifa the main attractions yesterday were the "open houses" at the navy base in Haifa port and at the air force technical school in the Bayside area. Thousands of people

braved the cold to catch a glimpse of the ships on display.

At the air force school many planes including the Skyhawk, the Phantom and the Kfir were shown.

Only a handful of out-of-towners spent their Independence Day in Kiryat Shmona where there was heavy rain and hail. For the first time in memory snow fell on Mount Hermon on Independence Day.

More than IS\$6 million was raised for the Soldier's Welfare Association by the army radio's 24-hour Shiratrom fund-raising programme.

## Couple held up in flat

HAIFA. — A couple were held up at gun point in their flat in Rehov Arlozoroff by two masked robbers, on Sunday afternoon.

The thieves who got into the flat posing as delivery men, hit the man and wife over the head with the butt of a pistol and forced them to hand over jewelry and a watch. They fled after disconnecting the telephone.

## U.S. official denies conflict of interest over Israeli arms

By WOLF BLITZER  
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — Assistant Defence Secretary Richard Perle has denied any wrongdoing in his intervention last year on behalf of an Israeli arms manufacturer which had employed him shortly before he joined the Pentagon.

While still a private Washington consultant, Perle received \$50,000 from Soltam, an Israeli company which manufactures mortars, artillery pieces and ammunition, to try to convince the U.S. Defence Department to purchase its mortars instead of those manufactured in England by British ordnance factories.

At stake, according to *The New York Times* which broke the story on its front page on Sunday, are several hundred million dollars.

In a TV interview on Sunday, Perle did not dispute the report. He confirmed that he had sent an official memorandum to the secretary

of the army in March 1982 urging evaluation of the Israeli company's weapons.

He said that his memorandum had recommended that the U.S. Army hold a fair competition involving the Israeli and British companies, because he believed that the Israeli firm was not receiving a fair chance. He stated in his memo that he was formerly employed by Soltam.

The army later re-evaluated the Israeli product, but decided to remain with the British company. Army officials said the Israeli mortars were not cost effective, according to *The Times*.

The newspaper suggested that Perle's intervention on behalf of Soltam involved a potential conflict of interest, given his former financial interest in the matter. Other senior U.S. officials routinely remove themselves from decisions involving former clients, the newspaper said.

## Treasury: Canal and Lavi are too much

Post Economic Reporter

Treasury circles sharply criticised Energy Minister Yitzhak Moda'i last night for saying the Finance Ministry had transferred Israel Bonds funds for the Mediterranean Sea Canal project.

Treasury economists believe that the canal has become superfluous due to the fall in fuel prices and that anyway the state cannot afford two large projects such as the canal and

the Lavi war-plane at the same time. The Energy Ministry maintains that Israel Bonds had already mobilized \$1 million three years ago, but that the Treasury used the money for other purposes.

MODA'I JUSTICE. — A bill for a war memorial commemorating the expulsion of terrorists from the northern border has been erected by the Nahariya municipality, consisting of a captured Soviet-made 130mm. cannon formerly used by terrorists to shell the town.

## Shawwa blames U.S. for Hussein's move

BEIRUT (AP). — Rashid Shawwa, deposed mayor of Gaza, said in an interview published on Sunday that the majority of Palestinians want Jordan's King Hussein to negotiate on their behalf with Israel for a settlement to the Middle East conflict.

Shawwa, an advocate of Arab recognition of Israel's right to exist, blamed the U.S. for the breakdown of talks between Jordan and the PLO for a negotiating stand in a U.S.-sponsored peace process.

"The overwhelming majority of the Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank have seen the (PLO-Jordanian) talks as the only glimmer of hope in an otherwise hopeless situation," Shawwa told the Beirut English-language *Monday Morning* magazine.

## Arafat meets Israelis

Jerusalem Post Reporter

PLO chairman Yasser Arafat last night began talks in Prague with a delegation from the Israel Communist Party led by MK Meir Wilner, according to a party announcement. The talks will continue today.

## WASHINGTON

(Continued from Page One)

Jemayel who expressed his people's "profound regret" in regard to the incident. Jemayel also expressed his firm determination "that we persevere in the search for peace in the region."

On Capitol Hill, the explosion tended to strengthen those voices opposed to the presence of U.S. Marines in Lebanon. There are growing fears in Congress that more American lives might be lost in the continuing chaos.

U.S. Ambassador Samuel Lewis

stated yesterday in Jerusalem that the tragedy would not affect the peace negotiations between Israel and Lebanon, and that the U.S. was grateful for Israeli offers of help.

UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar learned with "shock and outrage" of the "murderous" bomb explosion, a UN spokesman said.

"No matter who is responsible, criminal and indiscriminate attacks of this kind can only worsen an already difficult situation and jeopardize efforts towards peace."

## TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY

INAUGURATION OF THE ROSE AND NORMAN LEDERER CHAIR IN EXPERIMENTAL BIOLOGY

Guests:  
Prof. HAIM BEN-SHAHAR, President of Tel Aviv University  
Prof. YORAM DINESTEIN, Rector of Tel Aviv University  
Mr. BENNEDICT GITTER, Chairman of the Executive Council  
Prof. ISAAC P. WITZ, Dean of the George S. Wise Faculty of Life Sciences  
Mrs. ROSE LEDERER

Lecture:  
Prof. ELAZAR KOCHVA, Incumbent of the Chair  
"THE CO-EVOLUTION OF TOXINS AND THEIR ANTIDOTES — A STUDY IN EXPERIMENTAL BIOLOGY"

The inauguration will take place on Wednesday, April 20, 1983, at 10.00 a.m., Sherman Building, Hall 02, Tel Aviv University Campus, Ramat Aviv.

A reception will follow the ceremony. Entrance through gate No. 1. The public is invited.

The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities  
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem  
The Jewish Theological Seminary of America  
Neville Schachter, Jerusalem

will hold a memorial meeting dedicated to the memory of

## Professor SAUL LIEBERMAN

the man and his work on the thirtieth day after his passing on Thursday, April 21, 1983, 8 p.m. at the Van Leer Lecture Hall, Einstein Square, 43 Jabotinsky Road, Talbieh, Jerusalem.

Among the Peace Now demonstrators were Prof. Saul Friedlander and songwriter Haim Hefer, both of whom were whisked away by the army in time to arrive at the Jerusalem Theatre in time to receive their Israel Prizes.

Yitzhak, a yeshiva student in Jerusalem who plans to settle in the area, said that establishing Mount Bracha on Independence Day might be splitting the nation "but a split now is worth it if it ensures our future independence."

A younger student put it more simply: "We don't give a damn about them."

In deep sorrow, we announce the passing of

## Rabbi Dr. WOLF GOTTLIEB

formerly Av Beth Din of Glasgow on Monday, April 18, 1983.

Aviva and Eric Zornberg  
Frima Gottlieb

Shiva at the Zornberg residence, 3 Mehalkei Hamayim Street, Katamon (no. 15 bus terminus).

One of the Builders of Israel

## LOTTE COHN

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Died — Tel Aviv, 1 Iyar, 5743

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Sidney and Miriam Rochlin (nee Cohn) and family — Los Angeles  
Paul and Hanna Frenkel (nee Cohn) and family — Los Angeles  
Rabbi Bernhard and Miriam Cohn and family — New York

## MARNELL

The husband and family of the late Bernadette Mamell wish to thank most sincerely all those who sympathized with them in their recent sad bereavement.



# Stolen signs may be clue in heist

By ROBERT ROSENBERG  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

A key question facing detectives in the case of the stolen watchworks from the L.A. Mayer Memorial Institute of Islamic Art is whether the thieves stole more than they originally planned in their sophisticated break-in last weekend, the biggest heist in Israel's history. The Jerusalem Post has learned that English-language signs describing the treasures were also stolen from some of the cases, while the Hebrew signs were left behind.

A source familiar with the investigation explained that the theft of the English-language signs "is an important link to understanding how the items were 'ordered' from abroad." He indicated that the robbers may have had an English-language list from which they worked, and took the signs for comparison. Another possibility, he conceded, is that the signs will serve as "proof of ownership" in case the stolen goods are held for ransom. But no contacts for ransom have been made.

It appears that the robbers, who removed a ventilator, broke a window and crawled through a slim passageway into the exhibit room, took more than what was on their list — if their list indeed matched the items stolen along with the signs.

For example, one item taken was a painting called *The Roses* by an early 20th century painter, that was hanging next to two paintings by the much better known Jan Breughel.

Furthermore, a source inside the museum, refusing to give details about most of the stolen items, said

that some "were a lot less valuable than others." The thieves stole at least \$5 million worth of property. "They must have been told what to look for, and when they saw they had time, took some other, extra things as well."

Indeed, police working on the case now hope that some of those extra items will be marketed to fences, either in Israel or abroad, much faster than the more valuable items.

Inspector-General Rav-Nitzav Arye Itzan visited the museum Sunday, and after touring the plundered exhibit hall, he met with museum director Dr. Gavriel Moriah.

Itzan told reporters afterwards that "a year ago (the police) toured all the country's museums and made recommendations to improve security." He strongly indicated that the museum, commonly known as the Islamic Museum, did not follow all those recommendations suggested.

Moriah confirmed that not all the recommendations were followed, blaming budgetary constraints for that failure. But he defended his decision not to invest more money in security, saying that even if he added further security arrangements "it would only have made a difference of 10 minutes in the break-in, and nothing more."

A senior police officer confirmed to The Post that the museum's system was ineffective, and declared that "99 per cent" of alarm systems connected to police stations are not reliable. The museum's security system was not connected to the police.

Meanwhile, the police believe that three men took part in the robbery, and according to some police sources that makes the possibility of solving the case "greater than it was the work of a lone man."

The possibility that one of the three will become a weak link in the conspiracy, is one of the main hopes of the detectives.

Moriah told The Post that in addition to media reports overseas about the robbery, the museum has begun contacting museums, dealers, and private collectors about the theft.

The hall from which the items were stolen was emptied by museum officials Sunday and yesterday of all the remaining items.

During a visit to the barren exhibit room, its glass cases emptied both by force and by museum workers, this reporter saw rubble from the place where the thieves broke in still on the floor.

At least four table cases were emptied by the robbers, who also took several watches and clocks that were exhibited as lone objects on pedestals, including a clock made for Marie Antoinette.

In London, the Islamic Arts Foundation on Sunday called for an international inquiry into the theft of "Islamic art objects" from the Jerusalem museum.

Foundation chairman Muazzam Ali sent cables to the Islamic Conference Organization in Jeddah and the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization in Paris calling for an inquiry under international auspices.

There had been a "systematic campaign to destroy Islamic heritage and holy places since the Israeli usurpation and occupation of Palestine," he said.



Some of the 140 outstanding IDF members pose yesterday with President and Mrs. Yitzhak Navon, Defence Minister Moshe Arens, Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Rafael Eitan, and others. (Rahamim Israeli)

## Navon praises 140 troops

By JUDY SIEGEL  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

President Yitzhak Navon told 140 outstanding men and women in the armed forces at the president's residence yesterday that "excellence is not a one-time thing, but a way of life, of giving more than you're asked."

Because of the cold and windy weather, the ceremony was moved indoors, with the men and women lined up shoulder to shoulder in five rows and standing at attention.

After having last week criticized Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Rafael Eitan for recent statements, the president went out of his way to praise "Rafal" on his last day as chief of staff.

Eitan told the outstanding service people that they should be an example to all those who know them, "a personal example of fine soldiering."



Rafael Navon (Rahamim Israeli)

## TA yeshiva student wins 20th bible quiz

By HAIM SHAPIRO  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Rafael Navon, a 17-year-old student in a vocational yeshiva in Tel Aviv, yesterday won the 20th World Jewish Bible Quiz for Youth.

The quiz, held in the Jerusalem Theatre, followed preliminary elimination exams for the contestants. Participating were 13 youngsters from abroad and three Israeli competitors.

As expected, the three Israelis took the top honours, but in what was described as an "upset," 16-year-old Aliza Zubin, who studies at

the Ramaz Hebrew High School in New York, tied for second place.

Also second was Shimon Ashual, with Dor Koltovitch placing third.

The questions, which many spectators considered particularly easy, centred around wars of defence and bravery. The panel of judges, headed by Interior and Religious Affairs Minister Yosef Burg, bent over backwards in their efforts to accept the answers given.

The final question, composed by Prime Minister Menachem Begin, who unexpectedly did not attend the contest, dealt with the word

Yahad (together) in Deuteronomy, Micah and Ezra.

A surprise guest was Reuven Guttat (Givati) a member of the Shikma Choir which performed at the quiz. Guttat, a physicist, had won the quiz 20 years ago. He used the scholarship funds, he told the audience, to pay for his first year of university.

Navon, who expects to go into the army, told The Jerusalem Post that he does not expect to use his Bible knowledge professionally. After his army service, he said, he intends to work in electronics.

## Tribute to Druse war dead

NAZARETH. — Hundreds of dignitaries from the 18 Druse villages on Sunday attended the central memorial ceremony for Druse war dead at Ushiya military cemetery.

Druse spiritual leader Sheikh Amin Tarif recited a memorial prayer. Minister-without-Portfolio Mordechai Ben-Porat, representing the government, addressed the audience in Arabic, praising the Druse community for its role in all Israel's wars, and its courage in the face of PLO attacks.

The letters PLO in English were found on a number of road signs in Nazareth and at the entrance to the village Majid-El Krum in western Galilee. At the request of the chairman of the local council, Muhammad Manah, the signs were wiped clean. Galilee police are investigating, but no arrests have been made.

In Shfar'am township, six national flags were taken down and torn. In one case four national flags on the Labour council building were lowered and replaced by the PLO flag. Police arrested three suspects.

## 7 Israel Prizes awarded

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Education Minister Zevulun Hammer last night praised the "strength of creativity" and its vital contribution to Israeli life. He was speaking at the annual Israel Prize ceremony at the Jerusalem Theatre.

Six men and one woman received prizes for outstanding contribution to Israeli culture, education and society from President Yitzhak Navon and Hammer.

Recipients were Naomi Shemer, Moshe Wilensky and Haim Hefer (Israeli song); Prof. Avrom Saltman and Prof. Shaul Friedlander

(history); Prof. Aharon Applefeld (Hebrew literature); and Dr. Zerah Warhaftig (special contribution to law and society).

In the only speech of the hour-long ceremony, Hammer noted that "we are living in a stormy and complex age" and called on the people of Israel to "truly listen to each other, open mindedly and without prejudice."

Since the first Israel Prizes were awarded 30 years ago, 287 people have been recognized for outstanding achievements in various fields.

## Eitan: Judea, Samaria vital to security

Outgoing Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Rafael Eitan said in a television interview on Independence Day that "I reiterate — the Land of Israel cannot be defended without Judea and Samaria. Judea and Samaria cannot be kept without settlement."

Eitan is being succeeded today by Aluf Moshe Levy.

Eitan said: "We must believe that the day will come when the Arabs will be reconciled to our existence. I think that reducing the chances of

the Arabs — in their eyes — to beat us will bring them to realize one day that this way must be abandoned. We exist, we can't be eliminated, we can't be moved."

In reply to a question about his remarks last week reportedly referring to Arabs as "drugged roaches," Eitan said: "I did not compare the Arabs to roaches. What they did to what I said came out that way. And I do not retract one word of what I said."

## British UN group urges support for PLO

Jerusalem Post Correspondent

LONDON. — The United Nations Association of Britain adopted a clear pro-PLO line at its annual conference held near Leeds over the weekend. It passed by an overwhelming majority a resolution calling for a Palestinian state on the West Bank and for the PLO to be brought into any negotiations.

The resolution, which had the backing of the executive, deplored "the continuing extension" of Israeli settlements on the West Bank.

A number of Jewish organizations, including B'nai B'rith, the Anglo-Jewish Association and WIZO, are affiliated to UNA and had delegates at the conference.

## JERUSALEM POST POLL

### Public has no preference for Begin's heir

By SARAH HONIG  
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The public does not have a clear preference for a successor to Prime Minister Menachem Begin, according to the latest Jerusalem Post poll.

The poll also shows that a clear majority of public opinion feels that the influence of the religious parties is inordinately great and would like to see it limited.

The poll was conducted by the Mod'In Ezrahi Research Institute under the direction of Dr. Sarah Shemer between March 15 and 23. A representative sample of 1,216 persons was interviewed.

Asked to name the man most suitable in Likud circles to succeed

Begin, a large majority — 58.6 per cent — had no preference. Of those, 15.8 per cent said they "did not know" who the successor should be, 15.7 per cent thought there is no one suitable to replace Begin, and 27.1 per cent did not reply.

Among those named as a possible successor, Defence Minister Moshe Arens scored highest, with 7.9 per cent. Just behind him were former defence minister Ariel Sharon and Deputy Prime Minister David Levy with 7.8 per cent each.

Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir was chosen by 6.3 per cent and former defence minister Ezer Weizman by 6 per cent.

Asked how they perceive the role of religious political parties in Israeli life, 62.1 per cent thought

their influence greater than warranted by their number of Knesset seats. Their influence was thought commensurate with their Knesset strength by 14 per cent, and too small by 8 per cent.

The feeling that the religious parties wield too great an influence was shared by a majority of both Likud (53.7 per cent) and Alignment (82 per cent) supporters.

In another question, the respondents were asked whether they would like an increase or decrease in the influence of the religious parties. A majority of 54 per cent said they would like to see a drop in the power, 19 per cent wanted it increased, and 24.9 per cent preferred that it stay as it is.

## Zipori says Lebanon solution still far off

By LEA LEVAVI  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — We are still only at the beginning of the road to a solution in Lebanon, Communications Minister Mordechai Zipori said on a Friday.

"I give full faith and credit to those who talk about progress in the negotiations," he said, "because the S is beginning to consider our interests and not just those of Lebanon. However, there are two other partners — the Syrians and the terrorists — and any agreement reached will be affected by whether they agree to leave."

The two major essentials, Zipori said, are peace for our northern settlements and ensuring that the ter-

rorist infrastructure "cannot be rebuilt."

As for Jordan, added Zipori, Israel's strength is in King Hussein's interest. "He may not want to remember, but in 1970 his kingdom would have been divided up by Syria and Iraq if we had not moved northward."

Labour Party chairman Shimon Peres, who spoke on Kol Yisrael, blamed the government for increasing the Middle East arms race by behaving like a world power. Peres said that the Soviets have deepened

their involvement in Syria, hindering competition between the U.S. and the Soviets is increasing in this part of the world, and that can only spell danger for Israel.

Peres said that Hussein is a vital factor in the negotiations. "If he does not come to the negotiating table, all we can do is wait for him. In the end, it is in his interests to find a solution to the conflict."

The PLO is out of the question, said Peres, because the central thrust of the organization is still against peace with Israel.

## Fame' stars here, shows sold out

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Six stars of TV's *Fame* arrived here on Sunday night for a week of performances.

They are to make seven appearances, at the Yad Elihu sports stadium. The 49,000 tickets for the shows were sold out weeks ago, going for as much as \$1,100 each.

With a crew of 70 — comprising band, chorus, technicians and managers — the six flew in from England, and went directly to Kikar Malchei Yisrael in Tel Aviv "to sing 'happy birthday' to Israel."

An ambulance retrieved them from the crowd and brought them

to the Tel Aviv Hilton. The crowd in the hotel lobby "went crazy" said one of the hotel's staff.

Debbie Allen, who portrays the "universal language" of music and dance, and tries to bring people together.

Coco (Erica Gimpel) flashed a smile and said: "I get treated very nicely wherever I go — most of the time," she said.

A platter of Moroccan cigars were pushed towards her and the others — Bruno (Lee Curreri), Doris (Valerie Langsberg), Danny (Carlo Imperato) and Leroy (Gene Anthony Ray).

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## Kupat Holim

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Kupat Holim has decided to help pay members' expenses for medical attention, in urgent cases, during the strike. Details as follows:

- The contribution will be paid to members entitled to Kupat Holim services (against submission of confirmation of the urgency of the case)
- Kupat Holim WILL NOT make such a payment in any such case where medical aid is provided through Hahevera Lehaspakat Sherutei Ko'ah Adam Berefuf'ah Ltd. (Sh.R.T.) (alternative medical services — mokdim)
- Kupat Holim's contributions will be:
  - For medical attention provided during the day or evening —
    - at a doctor's house IS 191
    - house visit IS 341
  - For medical attention provided at night, on Shabbat or a holiday —
    - at a doctor's house IS 255
    - house visit IS 401

In the above cases, Kupat Holim will honour prescriptions, laboratory tests, X-ray photographs, etc., issued on medical instructions.

**NOTES:**

- "Night" means from 23.01 until 07.00 next day
- "Shabbat" and "holiday" mean from 19.00 on Friday or the eve of a holiday, until 07.00 on Sunday or the day after the holiday.

Kupat Holim of the Histadrut — General Federation of Labour in Israel

"because she gets a home. Before this, I'd yet her out of 0 in the morning! I know more cases like hers — drivers who do this as a hobby, or as a change from their regular jobs."

claimed, "If they work at in a long working long hauls like most of us drivers, it would be for them to be at best b or place or work; or rag."

tended discussions with drivers, I realized that some chauvinists, waiting which don't have of their families and would-be count-

I also found that the various women are not "clear-

ed to" a Na'am an several months ago quite recently, and that there were any planned or conducted organization on behalf of drivers. Nor does it seem to be making any use of unemployed young men learning bus driving as And Egged and Dan are "turf" — they are with the Histadrut.

a special section of which is in charge the rights of its women. However, according to bus drivers I spoke to, it has done nothing

have not seen any materials prepared by women's organizations to drive buses, a all-male bastion of the force.

in line is that Israeli women do not see any women co-operatives for less perhaps a daughter active member makes trying to become some organization of this by pressuring

atives to open their women. Of course, young women bus drivers are willing to challenge, nothing with

bus provides an alternative women who seek to me discomfort outside or factory. "I wish it at different times," says Goldberger.

ig, "I also like the idea the conviction that nonopoly on this

k Week

ns of bouzouki music / Hilton this week "Greek Week, ether with Olympian Lines Cruises, taurants, special per- taurants, special per- t night-club, and the doughnuts in its lot

I, "Greek Week" move south for a stip- m Hilton. H.S.

by Joanna Yehiel.

side when and

and some, your social

wer — we'll be

9.







# Up In Arms

## Ranks Break Over Defense But President Hangs Tough

BY LESLIE H. GELB

THIS was the week Congress went to the mat with the President over foreign and defense policy. From military spending, to arms control, to Central American policy, the two branches of government grappled with each other. In part, it seemed that Democrats sensed that President Reagan might be vulnerable politically on international issues. But also it seemed that a number of legislators, Democrats and Republicans alike, simply disagreed with where Mr. Reagan was leading the country.

It was not just in Congress where signs emerged of breaking ranks with the President over national security policy. A New York Times/CBS News poll showed Mr. Reagan's overall performance rating going up, while approval of his foreign policy was going down. Time magazine, which had questioned Carter Administration enthusiasm for arms control, ran a cover story that was tantamount to a broadside, charging the Administration with a lack of seriousness and knowledgeability in negotiations with Moscow on limiting nuclear weapons. And the President's own Commission on Strategic Forces virtually disavowed Mr. Reagan's often-stated conviction about the fragility of the American nuclear deterrent.

The one bright spot in the President's week was Senate confirmation by a 57 to 42 vote of Kenneth L. Adelman to be director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Mr. Reagan expressed his "earnest hope that this positive step will mark the beginning of a new bipartisan consensus on the vital issue of nuclear arms reductions." But the vote was seen as less an endorsement of Reagan arms control policies than the result of his making confirmation a personal issue with Republicans.

In the end, there was a majority prepared to let him choose his own arms control team. Besides, Administration aides were putting out the word that Mr. Adelman was not expected to be a first team player anyway, that Mr. Reagan was going to "leave these matters mostly to George," meaning Secretary of State George P. Shultz.

More importantly for the fate of Mr. Reagan's arms control policies, the House of Representatives beat back Administration efforts to water down the resolution endorsing a "mutual and verifiable" freeze in the testing, deployment and production of nuclear weapons and subsequent reductions. Even opponents agreed that the resolution would pass this week, despite a letter from Mr. Reagan arguing it would "undercut our efforts to negotiate with the Soviet Union for real reductions, and leave us in a position of permanent disadvantage."

But there was growing evidence that Congress and the public might not be buying that line of reasoning any more. First, a bipartisan majority of the Senate Budget Committee held fast to its decision to increase military spending next fiscal year by 5 percent and not the 10 percent the White House requested. On another front, the Library of Congress published a study showing that the



United States and its allies produced almost double the number of warships, 200 to 100, as the Soviet Union and its Eastern European allies in the 1970's. This seemed an opening shot at Navy Secretary John F. Lehman's judgment of "a decade of neglect" for the Navy and that the United States needed to increase the size of its Navy by one third, to a total of 600 ships.

### Arms Buildup Opposed

A New York Times/CBS News poll seemed to indicate a sharp gap between public acceptance of Mr. Reagan's description of the Soviet threat and rejection of his approach to combat that threat. By about 3 to 2, those interviewed in early April agreed that Moscow represented a serious threat, but by 2 to 1 they felt that building more arms would lead only to a further Soviet military buildup and not to serious negotiations. By an even wider margin, 64 percent to 25 percent, the public favored seeking a mutual freeze on nuclear arms with the Soviets as the best way to bring about arms reductions.

The President's commission that reviewed the nation's strategic position, led by Brent Scowcroft, a retired Lieutenant General, both helped and hurt Mr. Reagan with its report. It hurt by virtually denying the existence of Mr. Reagan's famous "window of vulnerability," the idea that fixed land-based missiles were vulnerable to a Soviet attack. To some, that went right to the heart of the President's judgment and credibility. Yet, paradoxically, the window had to be shut to some extent if there was to be any chance of Congress approving the MX, which the President dearly desires. As long as the White House insisted that the MX had to be deployed in a "survivable mode," and as long as it could not conceive a feasible way of doing this, Congress could readily say no to the program.

The Commission asserted that in the real world, as

distinguished from theoretical war games, land-based missiles would be survivable for some time to come. Thus, the MX could be placed in existing though reinforced Minuteman silos, relatively safely. Thus, the Commission hoped to remove the prime argument against the MX. To meet longer run problems of vulnerability, the Commission recommended development of a new, small, mobile land-based missile with a single warhead.

Mr. Reagan is expected to endorse this overall approach this week. He does not have much choice if he wants the MX. A number of legislators and their aides predict that Congress will probably go along, although it is too early to be sure. As quite a few Congressional aides see it, Democrats are unlikely to deny the President the MX as a bargaining chip in arms reductions talks with the Soviets. "That's more of a political guilt trip than most of these guys are prepared to risk," a Democratic aide remarked. If the talks failed, it would be easy to blame the Democrats.

The idea of using a bipartisan panel to overcome a highly political issue such as the MX had been urged on Mr. Reagan by a number of his aides, especially James A. Baker 3d, the White House chief of staff. He and others continue to argue that Mr. Reagan needs to soften his image in foreign affairs and try a more bipartisan approach. They reportedly cite the successes of the bipartisan efforts on the recent jobs bill and Social Security legislation. Otherwise, officials say Mr. Baker and others are predicting a collision course.

But it may be too late to head off further Congressional-Executive clashes on most arms and arms control issues. By mid-week, Mr. Reagan authorized his aides to try and work out a compromise with the Senate Budget Committee. But Peter V. Domenici, Republican of New Mexico and committee chairman, said he was doubtful about any further increases.

Neither were the proponents of a nuclear freeze disposed to back away. True, Representative Clement J. Zablocki, Democrat of Wisconsin and Foreign Affairs Committee chairman, defined the meaning of the resolution in ways more palatable to the Administration. He stressed, for example, that production of weapons and development of cruise missiles would be frozen only if they could be verified. But this was still a long way from being acceptable to the White House.

Nor was Mr. Reagan able to stop the snowballing opposition to his policies regarding Central America. The Latin American subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee approved sharp limits and conditions on military aid to El Salvador and recommended cutting off all military aid to Guatemala. Meanwhile, there were even more complaints this week than last that the Administration's covert military activities against Nicaragua were violating a law prohibiting actions "for the purpose of" overthrowing the Sandinist Government.

The collision course will continue, according to Stephen J. Solari, Democrat of Brooklyn, "as long as the President makes no real effort to reach out for support through consensus. We don't take much satisfaction from (these conflicts)," he added. "It doesn't serve the national interest."

But because Republicans control the Senate, Mr. Reagan will probably be able to forestall Congressional actions that would force him to change his policies. Even if the freeze resolution passes the House, it is unlikely to be approved by the Senate. And even if it is, it has Senate backing. It does not have the force of law. And even if the House ties the President's hands on Central America, the Senate is expected to loosen the bonds.

But as Mr. Solari commented, "The opposition is building even if Mr. Reagan's position ultimately prevails."

## Major News

### In Summary

#### Heavy Shelling Marks Debate on Central America

On one of Central America's hottest political battlefields, the United States Congress, Administration forces found themselves again on the defensive last week. A serious casualty was a supplemental request for \$50 million in military aid to El Salvador, voted down by a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee which also reduced the ordinary military aid package for fiscal year 1984 from \$38.3 million to \$50 million. Another major blow was the adoption by the same subcommittee of a proposal to prohibit American aid to Nicaraguan rebels unless specifically requested of and approved by Congress in a joint resolution.

Though the votes were along party lines, the debates betrayed widespread concern that the Administration was encouraging neither peace nor democracy in the region and by means that were not wise, perhaps not legal and thus far unsuccessful. A major symptom of trouble was the resignation offered by Salvadoran Defense Minister José Guillermo García, who is blamed for much of the Government's military ineptness.

Aid to El Salvador was made conditional on further assurances that American advisers there would be limited to 55 and that its weak democratic practices would be strengthened. The prohibition concerning Nicaragua reflected strong distaste for the covert operation now under-



Secretary of State George P. Shultz speaking in Dallas last week.

way against the Sandinists as well as a spreading conviction that it violated a Congressional ban.

Representative Edward P. Boland, the Massachusetts Democrat who heads the House Intelligence Committee, said the evidence of illegality "is very strong." He was backed by two Congressmen who just returned from Nicaragua and Honduras. Mr. Boland is the author of an amendment to an appropriations bill passed in December forbidding the Central

Intelligence Agency and the Pentagon to use funds "for the purpose of overthrowing the Government of Nicaragua or provoking a military exchange between Nicaragua and Honduras."

Firing back, Representative Henry J. Hyde, Republican of Illinois, said the subcommittee had, in a single day, "rendered vulnerable the democratically elected Government of El Salvador and protected the Marxist Government of Nicaragua." But Gerry E. Studds, a Massachusetts Democrat, cited another illegality in the operation against Nicaragua — violation of the charter of the Organization of American States, which prohibits undermining a member country. "The O.A.S. charter is a treaty and is the law of the land," Mr. Studds told James H. Michel, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs.

President Reagan also spoke up, and sternly. He made clear to reporters his wish to get rid of the Sandinist regime in Nicaragua but he continued to insist his Administration was not supporting anti-Sandinist groups for that purpose and thus was not violating the Boland amendment. He charged in turn that Nicaragua was out to overthrow El Salvador's Government and asserted the United States was seeking simply to cut off Nicaraguan arms supplies to Salvadoran rebels.

A new tool to intercept such supplies as well as to monitor traffic from Cuba to Nicaragua was revealed last week: AWACS aircraft, engaged in radar surveillance around Nicaragua. United States Navy ships have been reported off Nicaragua's Pacific coast also to block arms shipments to El Salvador.

Like the President, Secretary of State George P. Shultz drew a dramatic picture of events, and warned of worse to come. Speaking in Dallas, he said that El Salvador's fate hung in the balance. He said the United States had a moral duty to protect it

against "a brutal military takeover by a totalitarian minority" and demanded that cuts in military aid be restored in time to provide "a military shield" behind which there could be free elections.

He stressed that human rights concerns, which are widespread in Congress, should not take precedence over the obligation to protect the Salvadoran Government.

Thomas O. Enders, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, sounded ominous, telling the Senate Foreign Relations Committee it was "conceivable" the Soviet Union and Cuba might step up their help to Nicaragua. He said Moscow and Havana had been warned against sending fighter aircraft or Cuban troops. Mr. Enders was also highly critical of Nicaragua's "contempt for real negotiations" and asserted that the "contras" (anti-Sandinist rebels) enjoyed broad support. Reporters in the area have found it hard to detect, however.

#### Costs are rising on Salvador's second front: the economy

3

Defense Minister José Guillermo García offered to resign last week.



Magnum, Chris Egan-Parkins

#### Chicago Opens A New Chapter

After a campaign that frequently appealed to the seamy side of democracy, Representative Harold Washington was elected mayor of Chicago last week.

Mr. Washington, a Democrat who will be the city's first black mayor, won by a 52 to 48 percent margin. As was the case in February, when he defeated Mayor Jane M. Byrne and State's Attorney Richard M. Daley in a party primary, Mr. Washington benefited mightily from intense voter-registration drives in black neighborhoods. By most reckonings, virtually all of the blacks who voted last week voted for him; additionally, he picked up a majority of the Hispanic vote and the support of nearly a fifth of the whites (most of them from the liberal lakefront districts).

The Republican nominee, Bernard E. Epton, a wealthy lawyer whose

prospects had been regarded as close to zero before the nomination of Mr. Washington, received much of his backing from white, ethnic neighborhoods that almost always ring up huge Democratic majorities. Altogether, a record (still being officially tallied) of 82 percent of the city's 1.8 million registered voters turned out. Mr. Washington's swearing-in is tentatively set for April 29.

Beyond the city limits, some saw dramatic, perhaps far-reaching implications in Mr. Washington's victory. The Rev. Jesse Jackson, a prominent civil rights leader who frequently preaches the need for a black Presidential candidate, called the turnout in Chicago "the most significant national event — especially for mobilizing black youth — since the Selma-to-Montgomery march. Now they know they can stage a political confrontation, with enough numbers to win." However, because the black candidate in Chicago did win, the odds of a protest black Presidential candidacy next year may have been reduced, or so many analysts believe.

For the national Democratic party, it would have been an embarrassment of some magnitude if Mr. Washington hadn't won; after all, a Republican hasn't run Chicago for more than half a century. Some party strategists maintained that because many prominent Democrats — including former Vice President Walter F. Mondale and Ohio Senator John Glenn — had rallied 'round Mr. Washington (not to mention the \$90,000 the Democratic National Committee chipped in), come 1984 grateful black voters all over the country would return the favor and turn out in droves to support the party's Presidential nominee. But by some Republican calculations, many traditionally Democratic voters who supported Mr. Epton may very well switch and vote Republican again next year. (The new mayor's agenda and obstacles, page 4.)

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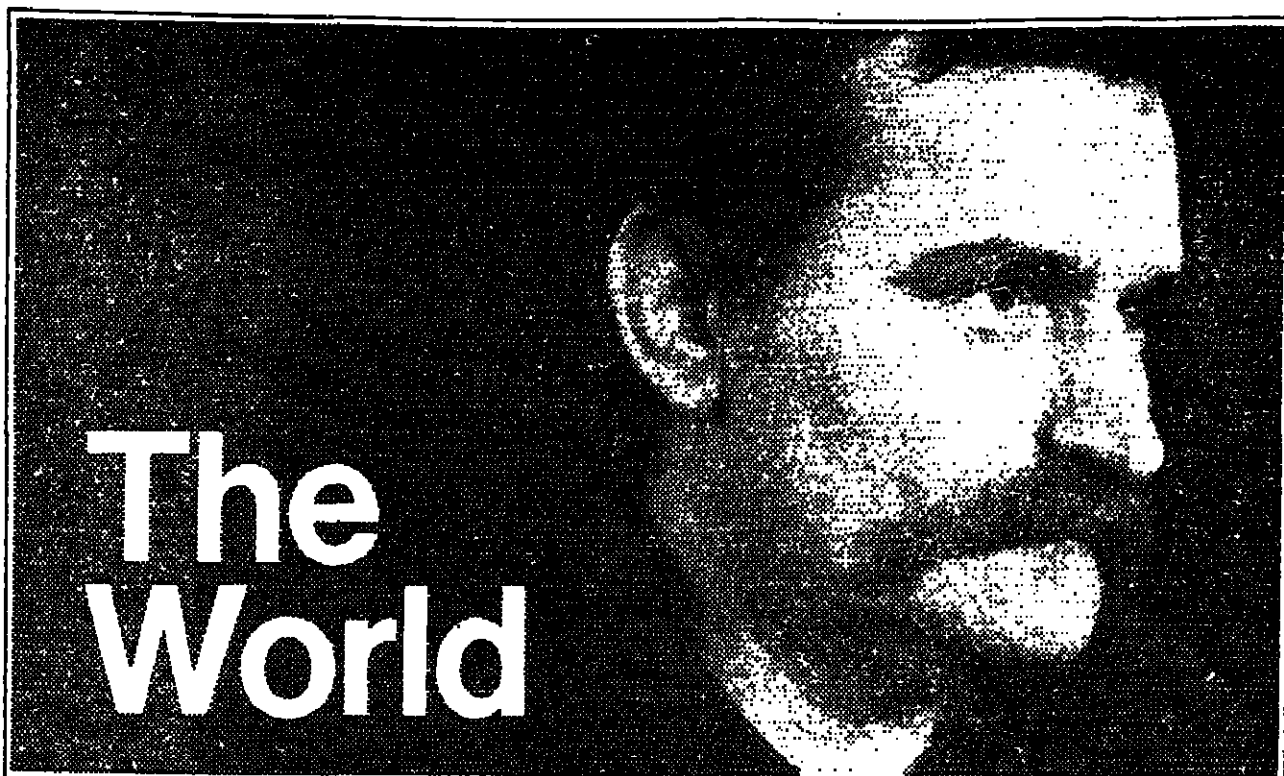
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bank leumi le-israel בנק לאומי





The New York Times / Joseph Caramico  
Lech Walesa

## The World

### Walesa and the Regime Play Cat and Mouse

For an organization that "does not exist" and a "private citizen" who no longer leads it, Lech Walesa and the Solidarity union captured a considerable share of the Polish Government's attention last week. In moves as delicate as setting a time bomb, Mr. Walesa all but endorsed a Solidarity call for anti-Government May Day protests and police all but arrested him for meeting with underground leaders of the banned group.

The maneuvers began when Mr. Walesa announced that he had met secretly last weekend with five fugitive Solidarity leaders — apparently for the first time since his release in November after 11 months of internment — and they had agreed on a "joint attitude" toward planned May 1 demonstrations. Gdansk police then

pulled in and questioned the union leader for five hours and, after releasing him, took away and grilled his wife, Danuta, and his driver.

The Government announced afterward that Mr. Walesa "did not confirm" that the secret meeting took place and that he was released "after explanations." The couple insisted they had told their questioners nothing. Overall, Mr. Walesa's statements on the episode — along with his presence recently at the trials of Solidarity figures charged with political crimes — seemed calculated to test the Government's determination to limit his role in Solidarity activities and his visibility as its symbol.

Mr. Walesa made it clear, for example, that while he may no longer officially speak for Solidarity, he intended to continue to speak to it. He suggested that he could elude Government surveillance at will and said he planned future meetings with the five leaders. However, a Solidarity broadside calling for May Day

demonstrations carried their signatures but not his. And, asked if he supported their call, Mr. Walesa would say only that he was not "distancing" himself from the movement.

Further statements by the Solidarity leaders were expected soon, although police have continued attempts to keep the union's voice from reaching the public. Last week a sophisticated radio transmitter was seized in a Warsaw raid, and the army newspaper disclosed that the Government had previously seized several Solidarity printing presses.

Meanwhile, more criticism of the Government came from Dr. Marek Edelman, the only surviving leader of the World War II Warsaw Ghetto uprising who still lives in Poland. He said the official celebration of the 40th anniversary of the uprising, planned for this week, was "hypocritical." He said he had planned to attend an unofficial celebration in Warsaw today but probably would not leave his home in Lodz because of in-

tense police surveillance. Mr. Walesa, however, said yesterday that he would be attending the unofficial celebration.

### A Bid for Liberty From a Basement

Pentecostals are deeply religious people whose highest experience is to speak with the gift of tongues. Last week six Soviet Pentecostals ended almost five years of refuge in the basement of the United States embassy in Moscow in the hope that the authorities had understood their message and would allow them to find freedom abroad.

The group practices a fundamentalist faith that has run afoul of the authorities because of its refusal to officially register, a requirement for all religious groups in the Soviet Union. Seven people burst into the embassy in 1978 and vowed not to leave until they and 24 other family members in Chernogorsk in southern Siberia were allowed to emigrate. The seventh person, Lidiya Vashchenko, became ill after a hunger strike in the embassy 14 months ago and was taken to a hospital. After recovering and returning to Chernogorsk, she was allowed to emigrate to Israel the week before last.

To the relief of embassy officials, the six remaining refugees decided that Lidiya's departure was "a good sign," as her sister Lyubov put it. So the Pentecostals, who include Lidiya's mother, father, two sisters and two other people, returned to their Siberian home — authorities had refused to consider an application for emigration until the group had done that — to await an official decision.

### Talk Isn't Cheap In Argentina

Ever since they lost the Falkland war, Argentina's generals have squabbled publicly and privately over who was at fault. The nasty spectacle turned somewhat bizarre

last week as the Argentine army arrested its former leader for publicly blaming those he led.

Gen. Leopoldo Galtieri, who was ousted as president shortly after Argentine troops surrendered to British forces in the Falkland Islands last year, was ordered detained for 60 days because he criticized his subordinates' conduct of the war in an interview published earlier this month. Gen. Cristino Nicolaides, General Galtieri's successor as army commander, was also said to have ordered the former leader to be hauled before a court of honor that could strip him of his rank or bring him before a court-martial.

General Galtieri was charged with violating a rule prohibiting active and retired army officers from making political statements without the approval of army brass. His punishment was one of the strictest ever under the regulation, which has not been consistently enforced.

In the remarks that led to his detention, the general criticized those who booted him out of office and said the Falkland war would not have been fought if Argentine leaders had known the United States would support Britain in the conflict.

While the ruling junta may have muzzled one critic, about 15,000 others showed up at the presidential palace late in the week demanding an account of thousands of people who disappeared during an anti-leftist campaign in the late 1970's. The gathering was said to be the largest human rights demonstration in the country since 1978, when the army toppled Isabel Peron's regime.

The protesters demanded, among other things, the immediate release of political prisoners — ironically, General Galtieri might be considered one — and "dismantling of the repressive apparatus." Led by Perez Esquivel, winner of the 1980 Nobel Peace Prize, and the heads of a half-dozen human rights groups, they brought along petitions they said were signed by more than 200,000 people who supported their demands. Junta leaders declined to accept the petitions and the crowd dispersed without incident.

### Bonn's Promise Is Not Eager

Amid all his troubles over defense and arms control policies, President Reagan was able to draw a bit of comfort from a visit by Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany last week. Mr. Kohl assured the President that Bonn would proceed, as promised, with deployment of American medium-range missiles later this year barring an agreement with the Soviet Union to eliminate them.

But Mr. Kohl, despite an overwhelming electoral victory in March, still has public opinion to worry about as he made evident at a news conference following his talks at the White House. "We are not eager to have these missiles, not at all," he said. With the memory of the massive anti-nuclear demonstrations in West Germany over the Easter weekend still fresh, this seemed an understatement. Seemingly hoping against hope, he predicted that "we have not heard the last word from the Soviet Union" in the negotiations in Geneva. Moscow has rejected two Reagan proposals thus far — one to eliminate all medium-range missiles on both sides or, failing that, to reduce them to equal levels.

Mr. Kohl's 24-hour trip was the first of six by leaders of the major industrial democracies to the White House in advance of their meeting in Williamsburg, Va., at the end of next month. The United States will be host to Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Canada and Japan in addition to the European Common Market.

The last two such meetings in Ottawa and Versailles were marked by considerable discord, mostly over economic policies, including trade with the Soviet bloc. Officials acknowledged the issue was still alive but Mr. Kohl tried to appear conciliatory. "We should learn from the mistakes of the past," he said. "I do not see why this subject should figure prominently." But Mr. Reagan may see that it does because, his aides explained, he thinks it is important.

Henry Gimiger, Carlyle C. Douglas and Milt Freudenheim

### What's Left of Reagan's Mideast Peace Plan: Reports From Three Capitals



Arab construction workers waiting to get paid at an Israeli settlement in the West Bank.

The New York Times / Michael Bar-Am

### Washington: Against the Odds, The President Remains Hopeful

THE Reagan Administration was doing its best last week to mask its disappointment over the seeming collapse of its Middle East initiative. "The plan I outlined on September 1 last year is still on the table," President Reagan said. "While there may be bumps along the way, we will not be deterred from our long-term objective, which is a broad-based settlement."

But it was also clear that the Administration was far from certain what to do next. The bad news from Amman last Sunday — that the Palestine Liberation Organization had reneged on backing King Hussein's participation in the negotiations — came as a surprise to Washington, which was anxious to believe the advance word from Amman that a breakthrough was imminent.

The President's stated hope that King Hussein would reconsider his position was followed by an exhortation to "moderate" Arabs to take action to end the ability of the "radicals" in the area to block progress toward negotiations. And there was discussion and planning about a trip to the region by Secretary of State George P. Shultz to impress on Middle Eastern leaders the continuing American interest in an overall settlement.

The hollow sound to the Administration's rhetoric came through amid signs that it had developed no plan in advance to cover the case of King Hussein's refusal to enter the peace talks. The Administration appeared to lack any fallback position for dealing with a Jordanian leader who lacked the ability to overcome the opposition of the Soviet Union, Syria and the pro-Syrian and other radical elements of the P. L. O.

American officials seemed undecided on how much of a direct effort they should make to get the Reagan plan on track again and were giving Mr. Shultz conflicting advice.

Some senior officials were saying that it was up to the Arabs; the American plan was the only one that held out any hope to the Palestinians living in the Israeli-occupied West Bank, they asserted, and if the Arabs and Palestinians did not take advantage of it, there was nothing the United States could do.

Indicating his hesitation over embarking on a trip that might not produce results, Mr. Shultz told newsmen, "In fact, it may be that the best thing we can do now is to keep quiet for a while."

On the other hand, some officials said that they were aware that left to their own devices, the Arabs will do nothing to revive the Reagan plan. As a result, they were urging a new dramatic stroke of some kind to save the pe-

tient, however risky. Medical analogies were used all week to describe the condition of the plan, but the most telling official remark was, "It's alive, but comatose; the question is, should the plug be pulled?"

Politically, blaming the failure on the P. L. O. and the "radical" Arabs was attractive to some White House officials. That would ease relations with Israel and provide a scapegoat for the failure of the Administration's most important foreign policy initiative. But to do so would cause problems with friendly Arab states such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Morocco, all of which have been agitating for the United States not to lose heart and to come up with a new initiative if the Reagan plan, in fact, is not restored to health.

The recent history of Middle Eastern endeavors supports the view that perseverance does have a chance of producing results.

Patience displayed by special envoys Philip Habib and Morris Draper in the Israeli-Lebanese negotiations appears to have helped overcome some obstacles, if not yet the final breakthrough, to Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon, a necessary preliminary to a general Mideast settlement. The Camp David accords of 1978 only occurred after President Jimmy Carter, President Anwar el-Sadat and Prime Minister Menachem Begin at different times had come close to deciding that it was hopeless to continue negotiations. —BERNARD GWERTZMAN

### Jerusalem: Israelis Assert The Plan Never Had Any Chance

ISRAELI officials had to bite their tongues last week to keep from saying, "We told you so."

All their assessments of Arab intransigence and American naiveté were, they felt, bolstered demonstratively by the failure of Jordan's King Hussein to get the agreement of the Palestine Liberation Organization to his talking with Israel about the future of the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. The Reagan plan, calling for the eventual transfer of the territories to Palestinian rule in association with Jordan, was withering away, just as Prime Minister Menachem Begin had predicted it would.

### Beirut: Still Unanswered: Who Speaks for the P.L.O.?

IN the wake of the failed negotiations between Jordan's King Hussein and Palestine Liberation Organization chairman Yasir Arafat, the diplomatic situation in the Middle East appears to have entered a new period of stagnation.

American policymakers seem now to be concentrating on pressing Saudi Arabia and other Arab conservative nations either to compel Mr. Arafat to give King Hussein a mandate to enter into peace talks with Israel or to strip the P. L. O. of its title as the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people."

But Saudi Arabia, in the view of many Arab foreign affairs experts, has never had as much influence over the P. L. O. as the Americans think. King Fahd is described as having a whip hand in his relationship with Mr. Arafat but being "afraid for his life" to use it.

According to sources close to the Hussein-Arafat negotiation, both were using the Saudis against each other. In the end, Riyadh's ability to influence events was effectively nullified. Arab diplomats dismiss out-of-hand the possibility of King Fahd using his limited powers to help strip the P. L. O. of its negotiating role. Such a move could tear the Arabs apart and would not be in the Saudi style. They are consensus builders, not pathbreakers.

As for King Hussein, he has made it clear to Washington that without P. L. O. and other Arab approval of his entering peace talks with Israel, he is stymied.

In the statement the King issued after the collapse of

his talks with Mr. Arafat, he charged that they had essentially reached an agreement that was later scuttled by P. L. O. hardliners. Only Mr. Arafat knows for sure whether that was in fact true, since he was the only other person in the room.

As one former Jordanian cabinet minister observed, few Jordanians were surprised at the outcome of the talks, Hussein probably least of all. The Jordanians understood perfectly well the implications of the negotiations. The King was essentially trying to persuade Mr. Arafat to give him the P. L. O.'s seal of approval and to then retreat into the background while the King opened talks with Israel. Mr. Arafat understood too, the Jordanian noted, that if he agreed to this he would be setting off a chain of events that might ultimately deprive the P. L. O. of any role in negotiations.

Although the Administration blamed hardliners for scuttling the negotiation, those familiar with the internal P. L. O. debate said it was Mr. Arafat's own "moderate" Al Fatah organization — not the extremists — who refused to accept the King's package deal.

Mr. Arafat of course was quick to declare that his negotiations with the King were not over, but this is not being taken seriously by anyone at this stage. Since he has no military options, Mr. Arafat can't appear to allow his diplomatic ones to be exhausted — otherwise he will be out of business. The Jordanians say the only reason they would reopen talks with Mr. Arafat would be for him to come to Amman and sign what he already allegedly agreed to. But with Washington not offering the P. L. O. anything, Mr. Arafat's grip on his own organization loosening by the day and Arab pressure on the P. L. O. ineffectual, the chances of that appear rather slim.

The murder in Portugal last week of Dr. Issam Sartawi, the leading P. L. O. advocate of recognizing Israel, made them even slimmer. Mr. Arafat's headline foes have sent him a clear message about the limits of dealing with Israel. The fact that he dramatically named an Israeli, Han Halevi, to replace Dr. Sartawi as the P. L. O.'s representative to the Socialist International doesn't mean Mr. Arafat did not get the message. —THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN



United Press International  
Dr. Issam Sartawi



## Defense Minister's Offer to Quit Last Week Tied to Economic Losses

## Rising Costs on Salvador's Second Front — the Economy

By LYDIA CHAVEZ

SAN SALVADOR — Radio Venceremos, the guerrilla radio station in El Salvador, sparked up its program last week with some live theater about the troubles of the country's defense minister. The sitcom-like banter, however, was only a brief interlude in broadcasts that dealt primarily with the leftist opposition's plan to launch major new attacks against the Salvadoran economy. "We will deepen the war against the economy to include all the national territory," the rebel disc jockey boasted.

The talk was not mere revolutionary rhetoric. The threats were followed by daily attacks that became increasingly dramatic. On Tuesday, guerrillas machine-gunned a passenger truck in the eastern province of Usulután, killing the driver; on Wednesday, 14 empty buses were set afire in the nearby province of San Miguel. Fear of more attacks kept nearly half the bus drivers in the eastern third of the country from working last week.

Over the last three years the leftist guerrillas have shown they can cripple the economy almost at will. In a recently completed study, the United States Embassy estimated that rebel sabotage had cost the country \$398.8 million since 1979.

Some economists and politicians feel that the price tag in dollars is only a small part of the real cost. "The direct costs are not the fundamental problem," one economist said. "The principal effect is that the sabotage demonstrates to the private sector that the government is incapable of managing the situation."

A political analyst said the attacks on the economy are constant visual signs that the American effort to develop a democracy in El Salvador "is simply failing." When Salvadorans view democracy as a failure they either move closer to supporting the guerrillas or begin to yearn for the authoritarian military governments that at least kept the country running, the analyst said.

The war on the economy was a major source of the rising pressure that led last week to Defense Minister General José Guillermo García's offer to resign. "The sabotage is a constant reminder that the troops (in the field) are not protecting the country," a military adviser said earlier. "It is one of the primary reasons that people would like to see García out."

Col. Juan Rafael Bustillo, the head of the Air Force, has become so frustrated with the guerrillas' success that he has threatened to disregard the authority of the defense minister unless there are major changes in the command structure and in the Government's military strategy. Nearly 60 percent of Salvador's 22,400 troops are tied down covering fixed installations, often ineffectively. Soldiers guarding bridges have been easily ambushed, and only one major bridge linking the eastern part of the coun-

try to the capital remains standing. Almost everyone has been affected directly by the sabotage campaign. Peasants are forced off buses that are then burned by the rebels; whole towns go without electricity and running water for months at a time; and few have been spared the experience of groping for a match and a candle after a power plant has been bombed. A study completed by the University of Central America in San Salvador showed that in the first two months of this year local newspapers reported 210 acts of sabotage in 11 of the country's 14 provinces. Of these incidents, 33 percent were directed at electrical plants, 30 percent at transportation, and 10 percent against the agricultural sector of the economy.

Such attacks would be damaging enough in normal economic times. But the world-wide recession and the sharp drop in prices of coffee, sugar and cotton has slashed the country's revenues — and its ability to repair and replace public property. Municipal bus cooperatives, for example, are nearly bankrupt as a result of paying off loans on buses that have been destroyed. And the fishing industry has had to dump millions of pounds of spoiled seafood because power failures cut off refrigeration.

## Expecting Escalation

Since 1979, when a group of reform-minded officers overthrew the Government of General Oscar Humberto Romero, the country's gross domestic product has dropped by 25 percent and annual per capita income has declined by 30 percent to \$470, the American Embassy report said. Unemployment, which averaged 7 percent between 1971 and 1978, has risen to between 20 and 25 percent in the last three years, according to a local economist.

Some observers believe that as the global economy begins to improve and commodity prices rise, the guerrillas will intensify their attacks in the country's agricultural region. Farmers in the southern part of Usulután have already abandoned coffee and cotton farms because of attacks. And some farming cooperatives are said to be paying stiff war taxes to the rebels in exchange for being left alone. One such cooperative less than 10 miles from an army base in Usulután reportedly hands over 5,000 colones, or \$1,300 a week to protect its crops.

The Government, prodded by American advisers, plans to begin a major military sweep of the rich agricultural provinces of Usulután and San Vicente within several weeks to protect the foreign exchange income that these provinces earn. However, broadcasts on the rebel radio station indicate that the guerrillas plan to fight fiercely for their strongholds in that region. Visitors to Usulután last week reported that guerrillas came daily to the town of San Agustín for supplies. And the announcer on the rebel radio station has invited President Reagan to come to Usulután to see for himself how the American-backed offensive works — or does not.



Salvadoran rebels at a bridge they destroyed in Usulután Province earlier this year. United Press International

## Three High Officials Arrive in Mexico Today to Discuss Central America, Trade, Investment

## Washington Drops In on 'the Last Domino'

By MARLISE SIMONS

MEXICO CITY — Three senior Reagan Administration officials are due to arrive here today to monitor the state of United States-Mexican relations in the midst of this country's worst economic crisis in more than 40 years. Yet, as in every previous high-level bilateral meeting over the last two years, public attention will center on the crisis in Central America.

Although Washington and Mexico have successfully prevented their differences over the region from poisoning the rest of their relations, they are increasingly viewing each other through the prism of a polarized isthmus.

The Reagan Administration believes Mexico is the Soviet bloc's ultimate target — "the last domino," as some American officials have called it — in the area, while Mexico views the United States as an important factor in undermining stability throughout Central America. Further, Mexico fears that an American military intervention in the region could threaten its own internal peace even more than "meddling" by Cuba and Nicaragua.

Almost as a prologue to the visit here by Secretary of State George P. Shultz, Treasury Secretary Donald T. Regan and Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige, Mexico joined Colombia, Venezuela and Panama last week in challenging Washington's hard-line approach by making yet another effort to promote negotiation of Central America's conflicts.

No immediate breakthrough was apparent in a visit by the Foreign Ministers of the four countries to the five Central American capitals. Their reasoning was that some process of bilateral negotiations was needed before a regional summit could be fruitful. Their first concern, they indicated, was to avert a war between Nicaragua and Honduras.

While the United States and Mexico still disagree

sharply over Central America, this country's new President, Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado, has adopted a less confrontationalist approach than his predecessor, José López Portillo, in the apparent belief that "quiet diplomacy" may be more effective.

"We can't hope to see any peace moves without North American cooperation," a Mexican official said. Mexico's aim is not to isolate Washington, he added, but rather "to persuade it to change its policy."

But Reagan Administration strategy, according to a National Security Council memorandum published by The New York Times, is to keep Mexico "isolated on Central American issues" because it "continues public and covert support for the extreme left with propaganda, funds and political support." American officials believe that Mexico has changed the tone, but not the substance, of its foreign policy.

## Policy Shift Ruled Out

Just two days before the American visit, for example, Mexico underlined its support for Nicaragua's Sandinist regime by expelling Nicaraguan opposition leader Alfonso Robelo Callejas before he could give a news conference to announce that his political ally, Edén Pastora Gómez had entered Nicaragua to take up arms against the Government.

Some American officials have in fact expressed the hope that Mexico's acute economic crisis would "take the wind out of Mexico's foreign policy." But Mexico's relations with both the United States and Central America play such an important role in domestic politics that dramatic changes in foreign affairs seem out of the question.

The De la Madrid Administration is keenly aware, however, that good relations with Washington are essential to rebuilding its economy. Last August, at the height of Mexico's financial crisis, the United States demonstrated its interest in bolstering political stability by

providing its own aid and encouraging the International Monetary Fund to help as well.

Not surprisingly, then, with the big exception of Central America, the key issues to be discussed this week are economic. One problem is Mexican exports. At present, because Mexico is not a member of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, when an American competitor charges that Mexican products are being dumped, countervailing duties are immediately levied against the goods. But a bilateral accord could give Mexico the right to the so-called injury test, under which damage to the American firm must be proved.

The trade question has been made difficult by the fact that for the first time since World War II, the United States recorded a negative trade balance with Mexico last year, with exports to Mexico falling by 32 percent and imports increasing by 13 percent, largely as the result of increased Mexican oil.

Predictably, Mexico's rising unemployment and the increased peso value of the American dollar have contributed to increasing illegal Mexican migration to the north. In recent months, it has been double what it was in the same period last year.

The Mexican crisis thus underlined the extent of interdependence between the two countries, not only in trade, investment and migration but also in finance. A significant amount of the capital of private American banks is on loan to Mexico. As a result, the Reagan Administration has little choice but to remain closely involved in Mexico's recovery program.

Prior to this week's visits, for example, American officials were anxious to stress that no more money was available for loan to Mexico. But when asked for the Administration's likely response to a new appeal if Mexico felt tremors of political instability, one American official quickly conceded: "That would of course be different. The money would be found."



Mexican Customs official examining groceries near El Paso, Tex. Most foodstuffs are confiscated. United Press International

## Constitutional Review of Census Was Ordered Last Week

## Germans Get Edgy Over 'Law and Order'

By JOHN TAGLIABUE

BONN — West German Christian Democrats, after a landslide victory in last month's general elections, have met a groundswell of resistance to what is widely perceived as their overzealous defense of law and order.

Last week the party suffered a harsh and unexpected setback on one of the main points of contention when the Constitutional Court postponed a national census the Government was to begin this month. Civil rights activists had assailed the census, the first scheduled since 1970, as an official conspiracy to sniff around in people's lives.

The court's decision to postpone it, pending a review of its constitutionality, followed fierce opposition and not only among leftist groups like the Greens. Numerous unpaid census-takers had refused to do the work and were threatened by the Government with a \$4000 fine.

The census also touched off a debate on general Government attitudes toward public order and state surveillance of dissident groups. The debate is creating friction in the Christian Democrats' otherwise harmonious partnership with the small Free Democratic party, prompting Gerhard Baum, a leading Free Democrat and former interior minister, to call civil rights "the most problematic field of conflict within the coalition." At the same time, it has cast the Greens, now in the Bundestag for the first time, into a new role as a kind of civil rights ombudsman.

The touchiness of these matters in West Germany was expressed by Mr. Baum in speaking of a "peculiar sensitivity here, because of Hitler's criminal regime — it is clear we have a different situation than in America, England or Switzerland." Hence the uproar over the cen-

sus, which is conducted with little or no controversy in most countries but in West Germany is considered a form of official prying into individual privacy.

Christian Democratic leaders, including Chancellor Helmut Kohl, vigorously deny any callousness. But the conflict over the census may seem all the worse because the fabric of German society is already drawn taut by record high unemployment, the controversy over plans to station American nuclear missiles later this year and the party's proposals to deal with both situations.

In the face of militant opposition to the missiles, the Christian Democrats are pushing an anti-demonstration law that would make it a crime to participate in a demonstration that turns violent, even without taking part in the violence, or to wear a mask or disguise at a demonstration. The proposal was blocked by the Free Democrats, who achieved a compromise draft dropping the ban on masks and providing for arrests only if demonstrators refuse to heed formal police appeals to disperse.

Still, the Lawyers' Association objects that the law will produce a flood of indiscriminate arrests that will only clog the courts. It is also questionable how often the small and weakened Free Democrats can block demands of the big conservative wing of their coalition partner.

To alleviate mounting unemployment, the Christian Democrats have created another human rights issue by proposing incentives to 4.8 million foreign workers and their families to return home and thus leave their jobs for German workers. Party conservatives have threatened harsher measures, such as blocking the immigration of workers' children, if a sufficient number do not leave. Reflecting liberal apprehensions, Mr. Baum said, "If there is one thing the Nazi experience should have taught, it is

to watch closely how a country deals with its minorities — people with different customs, food and different beliefs."

Encouraged by the conservative winds from Bonn, Christian Democratic state governments have followed suit. Baden-Württemberg sent bills for the cost of police overtime to participants in this year's Easter weekend peace demonstrations. Government officials said the reckoning was purely financial; liberals argued it was meant to frighten future demonstrators away. Bavaria said last month it would ask Germany's Constitutional Court to reinstate a nationwide practice, suspended in 1978, of vetting civil service job applicants. Conservatives say it helps keep extremists out of Government jobs, but liberals reject it as a muzzle on dissent.

There was a storm of protest recently when police invaded the offices of Konkret, a left-wing weekly, carting off cartons of papers, after the magazine published documents said to come from the counterespionage service.

To be sure, civil rights controversies in Germany are not a Christian Democratic monopoly. Faced with a rash of killings and kidnappings in the 1970's, and the possibility of new terrorist acts being steered by jailed extremists, the Socialist Democratic Government of Helmut Schmidt rushed through laws in 1976 that permitted a quarantine of jailed suspected terrorists, severing their contacts with the outside world, including those with law-



Hanover census takers being shown a model questionnaire last week. United Press International

yers who would normally see them.

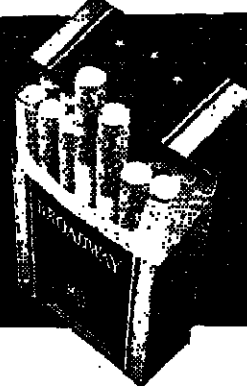
Though the laws were benign by comparison with similar legislation in Italy or Britain, civil rights activists argued they deprived jailed suspects of legal aid, and implied that defense attorneys helped their clients perform illegal acts.

"They did not achieve their end, and only deprived suspects of crucial legal aid in the important first days after arrest," said Otto Schilly, a defense attorney for several Baader-Meinhof terrorists and now a Bundestag deputy of the Greens.

At the same time, the Schmidt Government approved a controversial computer data-gathering system to track down terrorists or their hideouts. Some argue this generated the anxiety and consequently the massive resistance to this year's census.

BROADWAY 80

Please place in litter-basket when you finish. Keep Israel tidy.



I'm glad I changed.



# The Nation

## Most Economic Signs Point to Sound Recovery

After months of equivocal signals, the week's economic indicators came as a double-barreled shot of confidence. Martin S. Feldstein, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, summed up, "Inflation is down and real output is growing at a very good pace; it is just the kind of recovery we were hoping for."

That is, a moderate and therefore noninflationary recovery from the last three years of back-to-back recession. Last week's report of a 1.1 percent rise in industrial production in March, after stronger than anticipated figures for January and weaker than hoped for data for February, was accompanied by a one-tenth of 1 percent drop in producer prices — the second decline in the last three months. The biggest booster to output was construction supplies, up 2.6 percent in a reflection of housing's newly hefty condition. The heaviest dampener on wholesale costs was energy, down 3.2 percent as a result of world cuts in crude oil prices.

But the nature of this recovery is not without its costs. Though first claims for unemployment benefits

Friday with Education Secretary T. H. Bell. A commission spokesman said Mr. Bell agreed to provide the commission with responses to questions that had been posed to him in December.

## Less for the Truly Needy

The Reagan Administration has a standing response to charges that reductions in social spending enacted in the last two years hurt the truly needy. It is, the cuts are not cuts; they are reductions in the rate of increases. In one specific instance — the Administration's latest proposals on the \$12.3 billion food stamp program — the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office has found otherwise. Not only would "62 percent of all food stamp households lose benefits as a result," according to a report it issued last week, "Those with elderly or disabled members would experience the greatest average reduction" — 26 percent, or \$21 a month, of the benefits they now receive.

In the first round of budget cutting two years ago, the White House promoted and got food stamp savings of \$2 billion. Last year, with recession deepening and midterm elections nearing, Congress was more resistant, trimming another \$2 billion while the White House wanted \$2.8 billion out. So far this year, the legislators have been outright uncooperative. The Administration's request for food stamp spending for fiscal year 1984 is \$10.9 billion. The Democratic-controlled House of Representatives' budget resolution kept the current \$11.4 billion and raised it \$776 million. In the Republican Senate, where a budget resolution was still grinding through committee last week, the sentiment was to reject the White House request.

According to the budget office, the \$10.9 billion would mean that 4.9 million households, or more than half of all those now receiving food stamps, would lose some benefits. Robert W. Leard, Administrator of the Federal Food and Nutrition Service, presented the White House defense. His figures showed, he said, 35 percent losers, 39 percent gainers.



Construction supplies at a New York lumber yard.

continued down last week, the jobless rate for the year is not expected to decline much below last month's 10.1 percent — a fact much on the minds of Democratic members of the House Banking Committee as they pressed on Federal Reserve chairman Paul A. Volcker their view that lower interest rates are needed to bring more robust economic growth. Mr. Volcker agreed that for a "long, healthy recovery," rates are high. On the short-term, he was noncommittal.

That was no obstacle to Wall Street, which closed the week on a new Dow-Jones industrial average of 1,171.34. Interest rates in fact declined slightly by week's end. But bond marketeers were still holding back. They aren't the only doubters. The latest New York Times/CBS poll showed that 53 percent of the public believes prices in general will go up in the next 12 months; 29 percent think unemployment will increase. Consumer demand traditionally propels recoveries; retail sales rose only three-tenths of 1 percent last month.

## Rights Panel Loses Patience

After sharp complaints last month by the usually mild-mannered chairman of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, several Government agencies produced documents sought by the panel. Early last week, the commission voted to issue subpoenas to two foot-draggers, the Departments of Labor and Education; by the end of the week, the hard line appeared to have paid off.

The targets of the latest high-level paper chase included Labor's assessments of how Federal contractors are abiding by civil rights statutes. The Education Department's vaults are believed to contain records that would show the effects of last year's ruling by a Federal District Court judge (which the Administration chose not to appeal) that restricts Washington's authority to cut off funds for colleges and schools that have been accused of sex discrimination. The commission, its members have complained, had been trying to obtain the records for more than a year through informal negotiations.

In a letter to President Reagan in mid-March, Clarence M. Pendleton Jr., the commission chairman, said his panel, an independent fact-finding agency, might have to resort to subpoenas because of a "lack of cooperation" on the part of the Federal bureaucracy and a "growing pattern of difficulties." Last week, however, Mr. Pendleton and the vice chairman, Mary Louise Smith, both Republicans appointed by Mr. Reagan, were on the losing side of a 3 to 2 vote. They maintained the Administration was entitled to a bit more time. By the end of the week, the Labor Department had delivered the documents in dispute. Mr. Pendleton met

## Teamster Boss Gives It All Up

Teamsters' union president Roy L. Williams last week gave up his kingdom for remaining free on bail while he appeals his conviction of conspiring to bribe former Senator Howard W. Cannon, Democrat of Nevada. But under the plea bargain, proposed three weeks ago by Federal prosecutors, he retains the trappings if not the power of his office until 5:00 P.M. Wednesday. Before then, the union's executive board will meet at La Pasada, a Scottsdale, Ariz., resort.

The timing was described by one lawyer as "a grace period" to allow Mr. Williams, who has advanced emphysema, to make a last appearance. He is not permitted, however, to engage in official business, particularly the business that will presumably most preoccupy the board — the succession. Mr. Williams was elected to a five-year term in May 1981, a week after his indictment. Under the union's rules, the secretary-treasurer could assume a 15-day interim presidency while jockeying for the ascendancy takes place.

## Another Barrier Falls in Virginia

Charles S. Robb, the Democratic Governor of Virginia, has ranked many of the Old Dominion's once-dominant conservatives by appointing people who are not white and male to agencies and commissions. Last week, in perhaps his most dramatic break with tradition, Mr. Robb named the first black justice to the Virginia Supreme Court.

The selection of John Charles Thomas, a Richmond attorney, was widely applauded by black spokesmen and politicians. "While they are having a disaster in Chicago," said State Senator Douglas L. Wilder, "here we are in Virginia, the state of massive resistance, doing things right." One "special guest" at the announcement press conference was James E. Sheffield, a state Circuit Court judge nominated by President Carter to become the first black Federal judge in Virginia; the nomination was blocked by then United States Senator Harry F. Byrd Jr.

Mr. Thomas's appointment produced a few grumbles, but mostly about Mr. Robb's eye for national political trends. There were no questions about Mr. Thomas's qualifications. He has practiced for eight years in the state's largest and most prestigious law firm. Mr. Robb said the appointment, subject to ratification by the Legislature when it reconvenes in January, would give the court "a new dimension" reflecting "the aspirations and ideals of a wide range of Virginians."

Michael Wright  
and Caroline Rand Herron

## New Mayor Wields Less Power Than Daley but More Than Byrne



Harold Washington acknowledging supporters' cheers as he claimed victory in Chicago last week.

## Washington Will Lead But Will Chicago Follow?

By ANDREW H. MALCOLM

CHICAGO — In the predawn hours of Wednesday morning, after the votes had been counted, Milton Stewart was at work in a downtown parking lot when he spotted a familiar face. "What did I tell you," he said, smiling broadly, "We did it."

Mr. Stewart, along with many of the other 1.2 million blacks in this city of three million, was savoring the symbolic and substantive assumption of political power by their victorious mayoral candidate, Representative Harold Washington.

The former state legislator had just won a bitter election over his Republican opponent, Bernard E. Epton, to become Chicago's first black mayor. "History was made here tonight," Mr. Washington told a jubilant throng of thousands. He was referring to the election of a black in the largest American city yet to do so and the example for future candidates elsewhere. He might also have referred to another accomplishment: the completion of a vitriolic and at times tense free-for-all between, at first, an outspoken black, a female incumbent and an Irishman and then against a Jewish Republican without major incident in a city not noted for its tea-time political manners.

Running on a reform platform supported by a unified black vote combined with an adequate sprinkling of white liberals, Mr. Washington, a Democrat, not only defeated the toughest Republican challenge in more than three decades, he also upset the once all-powerful regular Democratic organization. Its leaders and troops deserted their party's primary winner by the thousands for fear of his color and his reform stripes.

Mr. Washington has vowed, among other things, to destroy Chicago's vaunted political patronage system that has glued together the self-interests of the city's diverse neighborhood political clans since before Mayor Anton Cermak assembled the Democrats' first successful city coalition here in 1931.

"The city of Chicago can thrive without any ma-

chine," Mr. Washington said. But beating the machine at its own game, suppressing the revived Republicans and overcoming his own chronic campaign disorganization, may prove the least of Mr. Washington's challenges during the next four years. He faces an array of political, financial, social and economic obstacles.

Mr. Washington, who paid little attention to Chicago's white areas until just before election day when his pollsters became worried, addressed the problem of unity in his victory speech. "I charge each and every one of you," he said in a talk interrupted by cheers after each phrase, "to rededicate your efforts to heal the divisions that have plagued us."

### The Problems of Being First

Mr. Washington's immediate chore is convincing the many nervous white residents of Chicago's conservative ethnic neighborhoods — and the financially powerful corporate leaders traditionally close to City Hall — that the assumption of black political power does not mean an end to the kind of effective urban life that has kept the city bustling and relatively free of the massive white flight to the suburbs that crippled many another metropolis.

Maynard Jackson, Atlanta's first black mayor, offered some advice to Mr. Washington on the special problems of being a "first" black mayor. "You must reassure the whites," he said, "that they are not going to lose city services or be left out of your administration. And you must also temper the extraordinarily high expectations of an ecstatic black community. The first black mayor is not Superman incarnate."

After a unity lunch with religious leaders, Mayor Jane M. Byrne and Richard M. Daley (his Democratic primary rivals), Mr. Washington promised no great shakeup when he takes office. Like Mayor Byrne, who became Chicago's first woman mayor four years ago, Mr. Washington arrives at his new office on City Hall's fifth floor as a reformer. But unlike Mrs. Byrne, Mr. Washington arrives with his own strong political base.

While his precinct organization is not strong outside black areas, such an organization matters less now in the new dynamics of Chicago politics. Mr. Washington will have a solid block of at least 20 of the City Council's 50 ostensibly nonpartisan seats, enough to prevent veto overrides. And between a handful of independent aldermen and some regular Democrats amenable to occasional agreement on particular issues, political analysts expect the new mayor to be able to forge a shifting coalition of the necessary 26-vote majority.

Mayor Byrne's weak political base forced her to deal with the same aging politicians who had divided up the spoils under her mentor, the late Mayor Richard J. Daley. Spotting the same lack of support for Mr. Epton, many of these Democrats openly or secretly worked for the election of a Republican who needed them more.

Aware of the new post-election realities, however, these same dealmakers have already expressed interest in working with the new mayor. And in some cases Mr. Washington has reciprocated, saying he has no ill will against these aldermen and ward committeemen who are, anyway, elected by their own neighborhoods. But as he seeks to turn his new political movement into a functioning new administration — no small task in itself — Mr. Washington can enjoy owing very few political debts. One of his first moves will be to choose a new police superintendent. And his impact will grow each year as the staggered terms of members of various appointed boards expire.

Looking outside the city, however, he may have more difficulty. Dealing with the state legislature and Gov. James R. Thompson, a Republican, the new mayor will have much less leverage than Mayor Daley, who was also Cook County Party chairman. Between court decrees and his own promises, Mr. Washington will lose many of the 1,000 patronage jobs, although a number of lucrative municipal contracts remain for dispensing. And due to the re-emergence of old centrifugal forces within the city's politics, neither Mr. Washington nor any mayor will be able to deliver Chicago en masse to the national party.

Chicago also faces the kind of problems common to deteriorating American cities — municipal unions competing for raises, stiff budget pressures, the need to balance rising expectations and expenses with a matching resistance to more taxes. And Mr. Washington's record indicates he is not fascinated by budgetary and bureaucratic detail that gave Mayor Daley much of his power.

In fact, learning which button to push will form a tricky part of the complex education.

## Mayor Feinstein Faces Recall Election Next Week

## San Francisco Politics Is Something Else



Weston Camp / George Hall  
Mayor Dianne Feinstein

By WALLACE TURNER

SAN FRANCISCO — This city's rarely dull political scene has produced yet another oddity — next week's recall election, an attempt to unseat Mayor Dianne Feinstein that stems from her support for gun-control legislation.

Mayor Feinstein appears almost certain to survive the April 26 recall attempt. Her campaign focus is on getting her supporters to request absentee ballots so they need not go to the polls on election day when the recall will be the only question. If she wins by a wide margin, the effect might be to dishearten potential opponents if, as expected, she runs for re-election next year.

She was president of the Board of Supervisors in 1979, when Mayor George Moscone was shot dead by a political foe, Dan White. Mr. White, who had served on the Board of Supervisors with Mrs. Feinstein, also killed Supervisor Harvey Milk, the first avowed homosexual to hold elected office here. Mrs. Feinstein automatically became ac-

ing mayor; the board then elected her to serve the remainder of the unexpired term. In 1979 she was elected to a full four-year term.

Mrs. Feinstein had earlier experience with government by handgun. She was a member of a California group that supported Senator Robert F. Kennedy's 1968 Presidential campaign that was ended by assassination by Sirhan B. Sirhan, a Palestinian who believed the Senator was too friendly with Israel. Her views on gun control were well known before the 1979 election. Appearing at a United States Senate hearing to support stronger pistol controls, she asked, "How many people must die before the government measures up to its responsibility?"

Her gun-control ordinance, which became effective last summer, seemed to be widely accepted. (In November, San Francisco voted 60 to 40 percent in favor of an initiative

for stricter gun controls while the proposal was being voted down statewide 63 to 37 percent.)

The gun-control ordinance was ultimately held invalid by a state appeals court on the ground that the state had reserved gun control to itself. However, before that ruling a group of not more than 20 radicals organized as the White Panther Party filed a recall petition and cited the gun control measure as its reason. The Panthers, led by Tom Stevens, who served two years in San Quentin Prison for firing gunshots when police were breaking into the Panthers' apartment, needed 19,357 signatures to get a recall election and by mid-February, they had 35,000.

When the petitions were filed, Mr. Stevens declared, "The people in the street are disgusted with her." While she described the recall as "a guerrilla attack on our system," Mayor Feinstein said "I take it very seriously, absolutely." She added: "I've got a record of 12 years in public office. There's never been a scandal, never any corruption or any allegation of personal dealing."

What she had run into was the bizarre nature of

San Francisco politics. Last year she vetoed an ordinance supported by San Francisco's large homosexual community. It would have extended city employee fringe benefits to live-in lovers, regardless of sex. Now only spouses are eligible for such benefits. She opposed a strong rent control law. She has even been attacked by Alex Escamado, publisher of the Philippine News, who said "she does not deserve public trust because she supports Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos."

Because she is barred from a third term as mayor, Mrs. Feinstein is expected to turn her sights on the general elections of 1986 or 1988. Many observers believe that Mrs. Feinstein, a Democrat, might try for her party's nomination for governor in 1986, when Republican Governor George Deukmejian's term ends, or for Republican Senator Pete Wilson's seat in 1988.

With veto power over the board's legislation and as the appointing authority for an array of municipal agencies and commissions, Mayor Feinstein has a power base that she has used skillfully. Almost no City Hall meeting of any importance begins without a word or two from the mayor. After a homosexual protest march on City Hall turned into a riot, she forced the resignation of Chief of Police Charles Gain, who had been appointed by Mayor Moscone. Mayor Feinstein simply told the Police Commissioners that she wanted Chief Gain removed, and then announced her action. The chief resigned.

Mayor Feinstein was born in San Francisco on June 22, 1933, when it was a vastly different city. She went to grade school and to a Catholic girls' high school. Her father was Jewish, her mother Catholic, and she took her father's religion as an adult. In 1955 she graduated from Stanford University, where she was student body vice president. Her first marriage, to Jack Berman, a lawyer, produced a daughter before ending in divorce. Dr. Bertram Feinstein, a neurological surgeon, her second husband, died in 1978. On January 20, 1980, after her election as mayor, she was married to Richard Blum, a wealthy investor who had been her escort for more than a year.

The mayor has a strong following among young professional women. She seems also to have captured the support of the San Francisco business community, where the vaults opened for contributions to her defense fund for the recall election. Ordinary limits of \$1,000 on campaign donations do not apply for that election, so many \$10,000 contributions have been made by big companies located here.



# The Economy

## Peeling Away Trade Barriers

By HENRY SCOTT STOKES

TOKYO — It is Japan's peculiar legacy that, for several centuries, the island nation lived in virtual isolation from the outside world. Contact was allowed in a few places, like the Western port of Nagasaki, the mythic home of Madame Butterfly. But from the time the pilgrims landed in the New World until the American Civil War raged, the Japanese cherished their insularity. A visit to the outside world during this era was a crime punishable by death for a Japanese.

This history provides the backdrop for Japan's current trade dispute with the West. The Japanese insist — as they have for some 20 years — that they are making strides to over-

come their past inwardness and to pry open slowly their sheltered market to the world's exports.

Next Tuesday, in an initiative that has won applause in Washington, Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone's Cabinet is expected to approve and send to Parliament a bill to amend 16 statutes on product standards and certification that have clauses that discriminate against imports. The bill is the culmination of the Prime Minister's promise in January to come forth with a "drastic liberalization of trade laws affecting standards, a sweeping bill to open up this market."

But Americans here are more impressed by Japan's huge trade advantage over the United States than with promises of a major liberalization in trade policy. Any reforms that Mr. Nakasone may push through the Parliament in Tokyo, they say, will be modest and can be easily circumvented down the chain of command at a dock or a sales office.

For two decades the Japanese have claimed they were opening their market to foreigners. And some strides have been made in cutting import quotas, reducing tariffs and clearing the way for direct foreign investment. But, say Americans here, the Japanese still hold down imports from the United States and from everywhere else with a maze of nontariff bar-

riers — the red tape, bureaucratic nuisances, product standards and regulations that have become the nightmare of doing business in modern Japan.

"Trying to move the Japanese on trade is like peeling an onion," says William Piez, the No. 3 man in the American Embassy here, who is in charge of trade. "You start taking the layers off, but you are never sure if there will be anything inside at the end — the whole thing is a rather zen experience, what is an onion anyway?"

American businessmen here take a more concrete view: "It's fine to tinker with procedures," said James Abegglen, of the Boston Consulting Group, "but it won't change anything." And Robert H. Bockman, the Hong Kong-based director of corporate affairs for Philip Morris Asia Inc., said: "If you bring up

a barrier the Japanese have a way of knocking it down, then bringing up nine more in its place."

Indeed, the Japanese merchandise trade surplus with the West remains high — and is expected by analysts here to grow this year, spurred by a relatively cheap yen. Japan's surplus with the United States was \$12.2 billion in 1982, up from \$7.3 billion in 1979, based on Japanese estimates that count transportation and insurance costs on imports but not on exports. On the same basis, Japan's surplus with the Common Market last year was \$9.5 billion, up from \$4.5 billion three years earlier. The United States Commerce Department, using a different calculation method, puts the gap for 1982 at \$18.8 billion, nearly double the \$9.7 billion gap for 1979.

There are some minuses, too, in the Japanese trade picture. The nation runs large deficits in such services as shipping and insurance. And, because it is resource-poor, Japan pays huge bills for raw materials imports, most notably for oil from the Middle East.

Yet goods only dribble into Japan. Gilles Anouilh, spokesman for the European Community here, points out that Japan, with its population of 117 million, imports no more manufactured goods than Switzerland, with a

population of 6.4 million. In terms of imported manufactured goods per capita, Japan is close to the bottom of the list of members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, he said; not far above Turkey.

The Japanese display a distaste for imports — if not a disdain. "We're already importing what we need: Parker pens, Cross pencils and French neckties," said Norishige Hasegawa, a businessman who heads a committee to promote United States-Japanese trade. "Japanese people are satisfied with Japanese goods."

And they are apparently satisfied as well with Mr. Nakasone's first visit to Washington last January and the trade legislation expected to be endorsed next week. Some business leaders here confided that they thought the Prime Minister had earned Japan a year's breathing

space before the United States puts pressure on Japan again on trade. They said the Japanese leader had made a good impression on President Reagan and on Congress with his strong support of the military alliance and his promise to bring in new legislation to open up the market by sweeping away the maze of regulations that stand in the way of imports.

How has the maze worked? Not long ago an American businessman here wanted to bring in a wallpaper shipment that met all the same specifications as wallpaper he had brought in before — with one exception: The design on the paper was different. He was told that he would have to submit his wallpaper for certification again, which could take up to six months, an intolerable waiting period for the customer for the wallpaper. The importer gave up.

Cases like this, some businessmen here say, make a mockery of Japanese claims of a positive attitude toward imports. The contents of trade "packages" announced from time to time usually turn out to be minor. Recently, for example, the Government announced a bold proposal to "liberalize" inspection procedures for autos. When asked about the details of the change, Hidehiro Kanno, a trade official, explained that in the future, importers will be allowed to bring in 300 auto units at a time under

### Prying Open the Japanese Market — Slowly



"There is no example in recent history of a nation liberalizing trade policy as fast as Japan"

— Ambassador Nobuhiko Ushiba, 1972

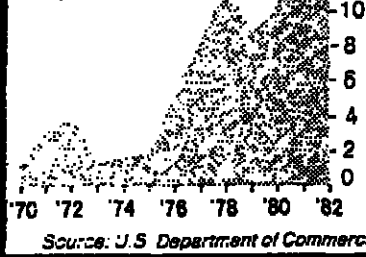


"Japan is one of the most open markets in the world"

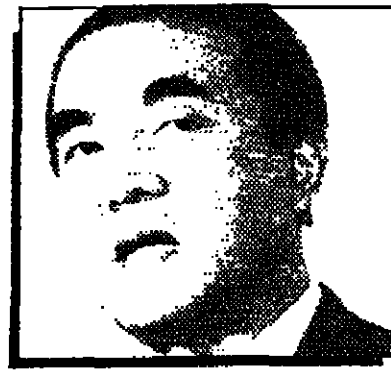
— Foreign Minister Yoshio Sakuruchi, 1982

### Japan's Surplus With the U.S. Keeps Growing

In billions of dollars. Exports are measured on F.A.S. (freight along side) basis and imports on C.I.F. (cost insurance freight) basis.

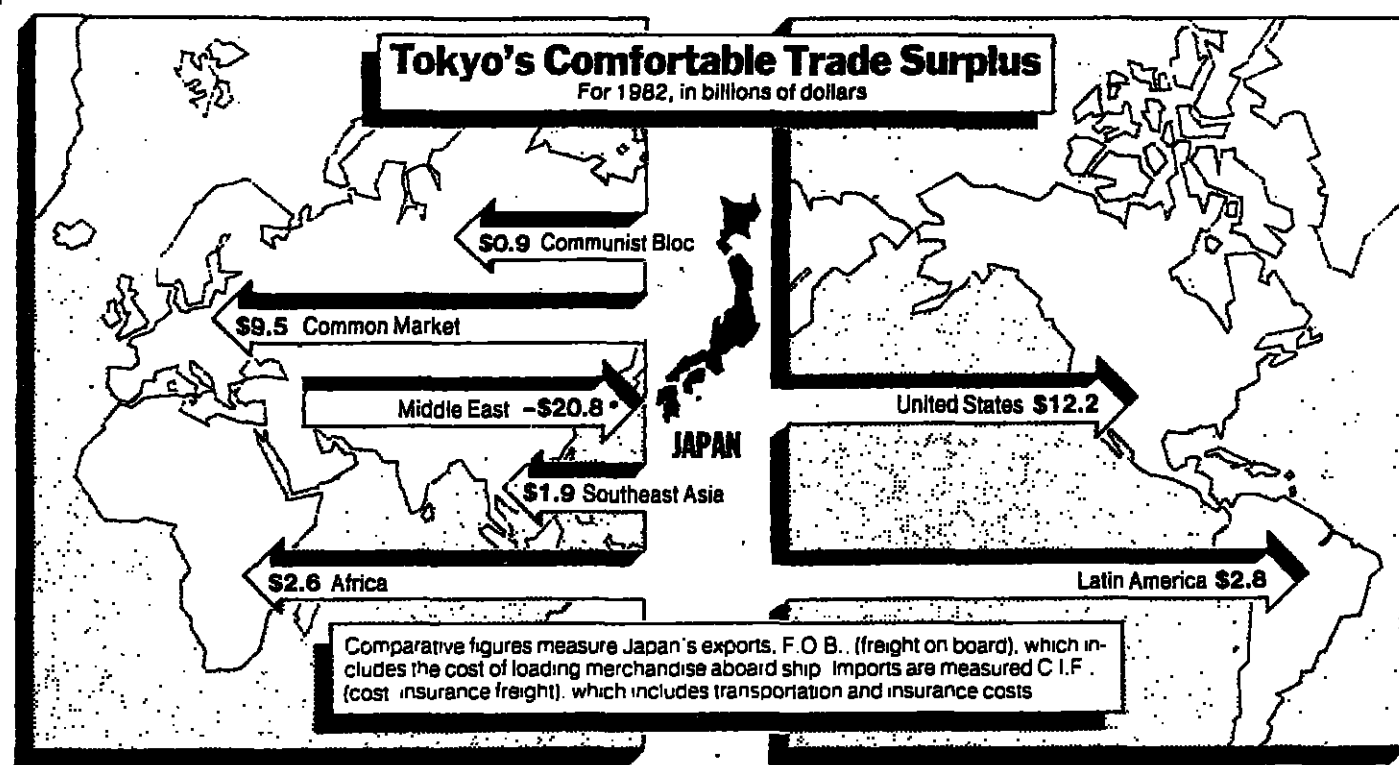


Source: U.S. Department of Commerce



"We plan a drastic liberalization of trade laws affecting standards, a sweeping bill to open up this market"

— Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, 1983



streamlined inspection process for low volume trade, not the 100 units allowed heretofore. That was the entire extent of the so-called liberalization, he confirmed, though other moves on auto inspection were expected to follow.

Some liberalization measures have revolved about "concepts" — rather than specific changes in the laws and regulations — and have turned out to have little real impact. Mr. Nakasone's latest initiative may prove to be one of these, some fear. He has embraced the "concept" of removing discrimination against imports that riddles the trade laws. But Ryohai Murata, a senior Foreign Ministry official, along with others in the Government, acknowledge that the main aim of the initiative is "to improve the image of Japan" — not to bring in more manufactured goods from abroad.

This comes as no surprise to some old-timers here, who are accustomed to rhetoric exceeding action when it comes to freeing trade in Japan. In 1972, when the country was under fierce pressure from the Nixon Administration to open its market, Nobuhiko Ushiba, Ambassador to Washington, proclaimed: "There is no example in recent history of a nation liberalizing its trade policy and structure as rapidly as has Japan in the last year and a half."

Again in 1979, the Foreign Ministry circulated an analysis by a professor, Ryutaro Kamei, who contended that "Japan nowadays is as open an economy as the United States."

The rhetoric appeared to reach a peak, however, in a formal speech by Yoshio Sakuruchi, Tokyo's Foreign Minister, at the trade talks in Geneva last fall. Mr. Sakuruchi, who has since relinquished his post, said, "Japan is one of the most open markets in the world." American officials here say there was guffawing after the remark.

Japan's rhetoric on trade might be less effective, local critics say, if more voices were raised against it by knowledgeable foreigners. One of the most effective critics of Japanese policy in the late 1970's, Frank Weil, an official at the Commerce Department during the Car-

ter Administration, is now a lawyer in Washington representing Japanese interests.

Some American consultants here now echo the Japanese claim that the two nations are equally open economies when it comes to trade. This is the view of the Boston Consulting Group and, in a recent study, of McKinsey & Company, too — competitors in a tough market for clients on this side of the Pacific. This view has a corollary also espoused by many American consultants: that American companies — not Japanese trade restraints — are responsible for the American failure to penetrate more deeply into Japanese markets.

Despite widespread doubts about the pending Nakasone initiatives, there are some voices that express a more positive view. Sadaaki Numata, a diplomat, expects a "real impact" on trade from the new steps — if not from changes in the law, then from changes in regulations. The Foreign Ministry official cited steps to allow a wider assortment of food additives in imports and he said that foreign pharmaceutical concerns will have greater opportunities in Japan because of changes in procedures and standards.

And of course, the Reagan Administration too is optimistic. United States trade representative Bill Brock, on a visit to Japan in February, said of the Nakasone initiative: "We've had four or five different, specific waves of liberalization now in 14 months — that's a much faster pace than we saw in the previous decade."

The most significant easing of trade restraints in recent years, analysts here say, has been the liberalization of capital flows into Japan — not of manufactured goods. In the 1967-1971 period, Japan went through four stages of opening up industry to foreign investment, culminating in a measure that allowed American auto companies to buy large stakes in three major Japanese producers.

But "real" liberalization, officials now explain, did not come until 1980. Then, for the first time, foreign direct investment in Japan was "in principle" approved.

### FORCING JAPAN FROM ITS COCOON

In the last 20 years, Japan has gone a long way to loosen up Government controls on its fast-growing economy. Until the early 1960's, almost everything was controlled, from industry to trade to investment. There were rigid restrictions on imports to guard Japan's minimal foreign reserves and an almost total ban on foreign direct investment to protect the country's budding modern industry.

But Japan was soon forced out of its cocoon by Western industrial nations, eager to gain access to its growing markets. Over a period of years, Japan did the following:

- Reduced the number of import quotas from a peak of 432 to 27, a figure that is still high compared with most other nations. The cutback in quotas allowed Japan in 1983 to obtain full membership in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which was established to help foster free trade among nations.

- Abandoned most restrictions on foreign capital that had prevented foreign companies from investing in Japanese concerns. That action, which came in four stages from 1967 to 1971, enabled Japan to join the Organization

for Economic Cooperation and Development.

- Participated in the GATT tariff-cutting negotiations in 1968 and 1980, ultimately agreeing to reduce average tariffs to 3 percent, compared with 4.2 percent for the United States and 4.9 percent for the European Economic Community.

- Informally agreed in 1971 to limit textile exports to the United States. That accord was followed by similar voluntary arrangements to limit exports of steel, autos and television sets.

- Reformed foreign exchange and capital laws in 1980 to open all industries to direct foreign investment.

- Proposed a plan in March 1983 to lift what officials portrayed as the last major legal obstacle to imports — Japan's cumbersome system for approving foreign goods to be sold in the country.

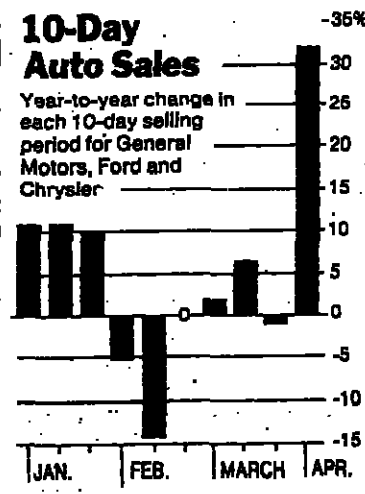
But years of United States-Japan negotiations have so far failed to open up Japan fully to American businesses eager to bid for contracts in sectors controlled by state monopolies — the tobacco industry and the telecommunications industry.

### WEEK IN BUSINESS

## Auto Sales Surge, But a Bit Unevenly

Car sales, after languishing for weeks, soared 32 percent in early April as cut-rate financing and other incentive programs brought buyers back to the showrooms. The gain, mainly the result of a 55 percent rise in G.M.'s new-car deliveries, sent the stock market — which itself had been idling — to a record high as investors snapped up auto issues. But such optimism may be premature. The April 1-10 increase was lopsided — Ford's sales fell 6 percent — and included a burst of buy orders in February that are showing up now as sales after normal delivery lags. The April figure was also swollen by comparison with the year-earlier period, which was one of the industry's worst ever.

Retail sales, which have been just short of disastrous all year, picked up a little steam last month, climbing three-tenths of 1 percent after a 1.2 percent drop in February. The modest increase came as a surprise to analysts, who had expected a larger one, and as a disappointment for the economy, which is sorely in need of a jolt from consumer spending. But this year's missing spenders may be turning into diehard savers. Morgan Guaranty, in its monthly survey, said incentives provided by I.R.A. accounts and money market yields, together with an already below-average savings rate, could make for more saving rather than more spending.



The stock market — already buoyed by rising auto sales — picked up even more strength from Mr. Volcker's undying faith. The Dow Jones average reached three consecutive record highs and finished the week at 1,171.34, up 46.54 points. The credit markets also rallied on the expectation of falling rates and continued low inflation, with Treasury bond prices touching a five-month high.

Corporate earnings are rebounding. I.B.M., G.E., American Express, Burlington Northern, J.P. Morgan, Chem-

ical, Marine Midland and others reported sharply higher quarterly profits — and will probably continue to do so. The recovery, along with lower interest rates and cost savings undertaken during the recession, is expected to generate after-tax earnings gains in 1983 of as much as 30 percent.

David Murdock regained control of Flexi-Van, but it cost him \$30 million to do so. After raising his stake in the truck-cargo and leasing concern to 42 percent from 21 percent, the company's directors elected him chairman, the same position they threw him out

The nation's factories are producing more than anyone had expected. Industrial output rose a strong 1.1 percent in March, despite lagging auto assemblies and a return to inventory accumulation in February. Producer Prices, meanwhile, are holding steady. They fell one-tenth of 1 percent in March as energy prices continued their rapid — but now ending — decline. Exxon, Texaco, Ashland and other oil companies all raised wholesale gasoline prices, a move that's likely to be repeated many times this summer driving season.

Of just two weeks ago. For the West Coast financier — who owns Cannon Mills and is Occidental Petroleum's largest shareholder — it was simply another in a string of corporate victories to write home about.

GAF is wishing that home is where dissident shareholder Samuel Heyman would go — and quickly. Mr. Heyman, who has been waging a proxy battle to oust management, made more trouble for GAF when he discovered that the prospective buyer for the company's building materials division, which Mr. Heyman thinks GAF should keep, was severely disciplined by the Big Board and the NASD. GAF, a good bit embarrassed about the whole affair, scurried to find a backup buyer in proxy-minded Odyssey Partners, which is doing battle with T.W.A.

The brothers Beitzberg have touched off a little spat of their own. The Canadian family, through its Far West Financial Corporation, offered to pay \$77.5 million, or \$20 a share, for Bekins, the big moving and storage company. But Bekins, which was once on the ubiquitous David Murdock's takeover list and only last year rebuffed a \$17-a-share bid from a group of three directors, seems ready to refuse the overture.

Jay Pritzker doesn't want no for an answer, so he sweetened his proposal to get bankrupt Braniff's jets flying again. His Hyatt hotel and restaurant chain is now willing to put up somewhat more than \$10 million. But the airline's creditors, scrambling for the best possible position, are still balking at the whole idea.

### The New York Stock Exchange

#### MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED APRIL 15, 1983

(Consolidated)

Company Sales Last Net Chng

Chrysler ..... 8,830,700 21 + 4

Am Mot ..... 7,590,500 6 1/2 + %

Exxon ..... 5,809,100 33 + 1 1/2

IBM C ..... 5,480,600 110 1/2 + 6 1/2

ATT ..... 4,631,900 66 1/2 + 1 1/2

Ford M ..... 4,333,800 43 1/2 + 4 1/2

Sears ..... 3,848,800 39 + 3 1/2

G Mot ..... 3,583,800 64 + 6 1/2

Chlcrp ..... 3,285,000 45 + 2 1/2

Pard ..... 2,891,600 25 1/2 + %

A Exp ..... 2,889,800 68 1/2 + 7 1/2

Merr Ly ..... 2,885,500 98 1/2 + 14 1/2

Masco ..... 2,705,000 33 1/2 + %

Standard &amp; Poor's

400 Indust ..... 179.0 171.5 177.7 +6.42

20 Transp ..... 28.1 26.6 27.8 +1.10

40 Util ..... 63.2 61.5 63.1 +1.34

40 Financ ..... 20.5 19.1 20.4 +1.34

500 Stocks ..... 159.8 152.9 158.7 +5.90

Dow Jones

30 Indust ..... 1176.9 1127.2 1171.3 +46.63

20 Transp ..... 534.0 503.6 529.9 +20.57

15 Util ..... 126.3 123.8 128.0 +1.75

65 Comb ..... 484.5 444.0 482.0 +18.73

The American Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS

WEEK ENDED APRIL 15, 1983

(Consolidated)

Company Sales Last Net Chng

Wang B ..... 1,947,600 34 1/2 + 1 1/2

ImpCh ..... 1,930,800 8 1/2 + %

HornHr ..... 1,094,100 26 1/2 + 1 1/2

Cyprus ..... 960,400 2 1/2 + %

DomeP ..... 729,700 3 1/2 + %

Ampal ..... 563,400 5 1/2 + %

HouOTR ..... 479,700 13 1/2 + %

DatPd ..... 419,000 23 1/2 + 2 1/2

GldFid ..... 387,300 2 1/2 + %

InstSy ..... 386,600 2 1/2 + %

MARKET DIARY

Advances ..... 564

Declines ..... 239

Total Issues ..... 909

New Highs ..... 186

New Lows ..... 6

VOLUME

(A.P.M. New York Close)

Total Sales ..... 441,627,090

Same Per. 1982 ..... 241,928,480

WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES

High Low Last Change

New York Stock Exchange

Indust ..... 104.9 101.9 104.9 +3.78

Transp ..... 87.1 83.2 87.1 +4.04

Util ..... 48.4 45.4 48.4 +0.99

Finance ..... 100.8 95.3 100.8 +5.22

Compothe ..... 91.1 88.4 91.1 +3.31

The American Stock Exchange

VOLUME

(A.P.M. New York Close)

Total Sales ..... 38,037,820

Same Per. 1982 ..... 19,952,310



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Founded in 1851

ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher 1896-1936  
ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, Publisher 1935-1961  
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## The Jordan Door Slams Shut

President Reagan wants to believe that King Hussein's resounding "no" to negotiations with Israel only means "not yet." He wants to believe that the P.L.O.'s rejection of his approach to peace was engineered by a few radicals and might yet be undone. But it is hard to imagine that Middle East politics can soon create a better climate for the compromise Mr. Reagan was trying to sell. More likely, another chapter in the Arab-Israeli conflict is now closed, with fateful consequences all around.

King Hussein, the region's preeminent survivor, has wriggled through another tough round. He spared himself the prospect of trying to rule the West Bank in tense collaboration with Israel — and still avoided blame for the diplomatic collapse. Mr. Reagan, through the Saudis, was to have arranged for the blessings of the Arab League. But the League deferred, as always, to the P.L.O. And the P.L.O. remains frozen in fantasy, of victory over Israel culminating in a Palestinian state.

Now, in the real world, Israel will absorb the land it covets, denying even autonomy to 1.4 million Palestinians. The United States will remain torn between its commitment to Israel and its quest for friends in a resentful Arab world. The Soviet Union will go on exploiting the conflict. The P.L.O. will prosper as a "liberation" fraternity but produce only ineffectual terror. And the Palestinian people will nurse a powerful grievance against them all.

Why are monarchs as shrewd as King Hussein and wealthy as King Fahd so beholden to the weak exile army of the P.L.O.? The unavoidable answer is that they choose to be beholden, for reasons of state. And as Daniel Pipes argues in the current Commentary, the reason must be that the legitimacy of Arab governments, particularly the most conservative,

greatly depends on their appearing loyal to the one remaining pan-Arab cause.

This ideological commitment overrides any interest the Arab monarchs have in the welfare of Palestinians or in regional peace and alliance with America. It is a priority that has been plain since 1973, when Anwar Sadat set out to put Arab national interests first.

To do so, he felt obligated to fight a major war, to establish himself, in Egypt, as the faithful heir of Nasser's pan-Arabism. Only then could he escape the ideological stranglehold of the P.L.O. and break ranks with the Arab League. When President Carter then proposed a multi-country negotiation to create a Palestinian "homeland" linked to Jordan, Mr. Sadat instantly understood that the Arab group would always defer to the extremists in its ranks. He went to Jerusalem alone.

From Camp David on, America and Egypt begged the Jordanians and Saudis and Gulf states to follow, and pointed a path by getting Israel to promise a "full autonomy" that might evolve into a Palestinian homeland. But the Arab kings, lacking Mr. Sadat's inner strength and war credentials, did not dare. To this day, they think their domestic peace could not survive such a deal with Israel. To deflect the energies of Arab radicals, they bow to a P.L.O. that they themselves nourish and sustain.

Reasonably enough, after Israel's assault in Lebanon dramatized the impotence of the P.L.O., Mr. Reagan tried the Camp David formula one more time. Israel's colonization of the West Bank showed that the time for dividing the territory is short and that Jordan is the essential party to any deal. King Hussein showed a reluctant interest, but only if the Saudis and Mr. Arafat gave him cover. When they demurred, he slammed the door. Americans, for all their zeal, will not soon find the key.

## Fighting Food With Food

Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina may be a Republican conservative, but his commitment to free-market principles doesn't extend to the farm. He and his Senate Agriculture Committee have produced a flag-waving bill that would at once create three ugly effects:

It would embarrass the President, just as he prepares to meet with America's economic allies at Williamsburg next month. It would invite a bitter trade war with Europe. And it would deplete Government grain stocks that are earmarked for world famine relief.

The sooner the Senate dumps this wrong-headed proposal, the sooner the diplomats can get on with resolving the very real economic issues that divide the Atlantic community.

Several years of bumper crops have depressed world food prices and put great pressure on governments to dump surpluses abroad. The European Economic Community, which is especially generous to farmers, has been subsidizing sales to markets traditionally dominated by U.S. exports. American farmers, encouraged by the Reagan Administration's intemperate attacks on Common Market policies, are itching to retaliate.

That gave Senator Helms his opening. He devised a classic log-roll — something for every region. The Government would sell surplus dairy products on world markets at distress prices. That would relieve pressure to reduce subsidies to dairy farmers in the East and Midwest. The proceeds would be

used to subsidize exports of eggs and poultry from the South, raisins and canned fruit from the West. Moreover, the bill would withdraw 1.5 million of the 4 million tons of wheat held in the Emergency Food Security Reserve and offer it as a bonus to foreign buyers of American wheat.

The first problem with the Helms idea is that it would probably boomerang. Senator Helms apparently wants to teach the uppity foreigners a lesson by undercutting their sales. But the Common Market would almost certainly match our subsidies; the resulting depression in prices would more than nullify gains in total tonnage sold.

Second, the Helms plan would leave the poorest countries more vulnerable to starvation. The emergency grain reserve, created in 1980 in response to the food shortages of the previous decade, can now be used only as aid for countries too poor to buy their own. With the buffer nearly cut in half, much less food would remain to be shipped quickly in moments of crisis — or shipped at all if Congress balked at appropriating the necessary funds.

The food export crisis is largely of Europe's making. Farm subsidies, used politically to hold the Common Market together, perpetuate inefficient agriculture. What's needed is a quiet commitment from Europe to rationalize its farm sector — and a quiet commitment from the United States to be patient for the five or ten years needed to do the job with minimum pain. Bluster from the President and chauvinism from Jesse Helms can only hurt more.

### Topics

#### Sushi, Disney

Mimi Sheraton, The Times's expert on the subject, has deemed only four New York restaurants to be worthy of four stars. So it's cultural news of a sort when she adds a fifth restaurant. She did that Friday and, in this case, it's cross-cultural news: the new restaurant, Hattahana, is Japanese.

The Japanization of America proceeds apace, and anyone who thinks that's an isolated example need only look at page 9 of today's Times Magazine and see two blond models for sportswear posing with chopsticks and sushi. It testifies to the appeal of things Japanese when American advertisers want to identify with morsels of squid, seaweed, rice and ginger. Americans used to mutter, "What, me, eat raw fish?" Now more and more of them know their maguro (tuna) from their toro (fatty tuna). But that's still only half the story.

The other half was dramatized by something else that happened Friday: a new \$800 million Disneyland opened, in Tokyo. It's hard to imagine a clearer symbol of the Americanization of Japan.

One might argue that by now, Mickey and Minnie Mouse are not merely American but have become international figures. Also Pimochio, Cinderella, Dumbo. But Davey Crockett? A Mark Twain riverboat? A Wild West train? You can buy sushi in the new Magic Kingdom of the Orient, but the snack attraction is spaceburgers. What's evident in pop culture is not

## Home Truths

so much either Japanization or Americanization but sharing, welcome tolerance, cultural convergence. One of the exhibits from older Disneylands that's repeated in the new one is, "It's a Small World." Small wonder.

#### Cardinal Sins

A woman in Brooklyn who takes her spring as she can get it reports a disturbing development with the pair of cardinals that nest each year in the rose thicket in her backyard.

Last year, the birds pretty much went by the book — "Birds in the Garden." It describes a cardinal's nest as "a rather carelessly made structure of twigs, barkstrips, weed stems and grasses . . . carefully lined with fine grass or hair." This year, however, a lot of the birds' construction materials are strips of plastic bags. The woman does not approve.

What seems most disturbing is that the plastic-lined nest may be more a matter of taste than necessity — like those clear plastic slipcovers some of her neighbors put on sofas. Her garden offers plenty of traditional nest linings, even tufts of dog hair.

In that sense, she is reassured to listen to the cardinals. Their song, rendered in Audubonesque, is "wet-weet, wet-weet, wet-weet-weet-weet" and "whurty, whurty, whurty, whurty," with an occasional "clink." The nests may change but the bird-song continues plain, not one whurty closer to Muzak than the year before.

#### Let These People Go

What Yuri Andropov does about six Soviet Pentecostals won't affect their faith in God, but it could affect the faith of others in the new Soviet leader. For four years and nine months, the six have been sequestered in the American Embassy, waiting for a signal that their asylum could end with a safe departure to another land.

They have now voluntarily returned to their village in Siberia, believing that an implacable bureaucracy is ready to relent. The sign came in the form of an exit visa to a seventh in their group — a young woman who had been moved from the embassy to a hospital 14 months ago after a hunger strike. By word or deed, the Russians gave the six the impression of a deal.

The Pentecostals have borne witness to their faith in ways that shame their persecutors. Their "crime" is a form of Protestant fundamentalism that is illegal in Soviet society. But they do not challenge the state; they only want to emigrate. That fundamental right has been denied them, as to countless Soviet Jews and political dissidents.

Eight years ago the Soviet Union joined 34 other countries in an accord at Helsinki that bound all parties to permit freer movement of peoples. The pledge was mainly dishonored by Leonid Brezhnev.

By letting these people go, Mr. Andropov can begin to claim a better reputation.

### Letters

## But Does the P.L.O. Want a State?

To the Editor:

Thomas L. Friedman's insightful article about the Palestine Liberation Organization's lack of direction (Week in Review, April 10) would indicate that the P.L.O. may not really wish to have a state after all. The futility of the Arafat-Hussein meetings and the murder of the P.L.O. envoy Issam Sartawi further underscore the somewhat confused status of P.L.O. ambitions.

With Mr. Friedman's reminder that "there is always a Mercedes," one begins to wonder if the P.L.O. really wants the physical creation of its own state. After all, its defeat in Lebanon notwithstanding, the P.L.O. continues to survive under its present global structure.

While seeking liberation, the P.L.O. enjoys unlimited funding from various Arab sources, and virtually unlimited international recognition. Its leaders and spokesmen enjoy diplomatic privilege nearly everywhere, as though there really were a Palestine entity. While seeking liberation, the cluster of terrorist groups under the P.L.O. guise continue to bask in the awe of so many, as the delusion of sacrifice is steadily maintained. Basically, the P.L.O.'s identity is

grounded in the fact that it does not have an actual polity. The assumption of such a state by the P.L.O., besides being a disaster for the Middle East, might seriously risk all the built-in perquisites.

What would happen to the P.L.O. if it were granted a nation? Could it sustain its line if confronted with the realities of collecting the garbage and delivering the mail? Having acquired "self-determination," could it continue to play on the sympathies of other nations trying to balance their budgets?

With the P.L.O. no longer being able to present itself as a "deprived" group, would it then remain fashionable for other Arab nations to pay lip service to the Palestinian cause? Locked into national borders, would the various fierce splinter groups under the Arafat umbrella remain loosely compliant, or seek their own liberation from the liberation?

One wonders. Perhaps it is the very objective of independence which most concerns the self-proclaimed Palestinian directors. The Mercedes could be at stake.

(Rabbi) BENJAMIN A. KAMIN  
North American Director  
World Union for Progressive Judaism  
New York, April 11, 1983

## Central Americans Need a Jean Monnet

To the Editor:

Note that many of the signers of the Woodrow Wilson Center report on Central America are prominent members of the international banking and business community (news story, April 6). Thus their call for "increased lending" (by the International Monetary Fund, naturally) to already over-indebted countries. That's like dropping a water balloon on a foundering ship.

They also suggest that we involve the Soviet Union in talks about the future of Central America. Some future. The last thing the Soviet Union wants is a democratic, prosperous Central America. That is also the last thing the oligarchs want, but one need not trade Somoza's yoke for Andropov's. There are other options.

One Jean Monnet would serve the region far better than the platoons of oligarchs and commandos that now abound. We should be working with Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela and the Central American nations to promote economic and political development and cooperation. In fact, we should link our foreign aid directly to that end.

PAT SCHROEDER  
Member of Congress, 1st Dist., Colo.  
Washington, April 7, 1983

## Superpower Peace Through Agriculture

To the Editor:

James Reston's suggestion that his proposal of agricultural cooperation with the Russians might be "goofy" ("The Forgotten Farmers," column April 6) is totally unfounded. Rather, his comments are perhaps the most sensible and constructive being made about ways to defuse the time bomb of an escalating arms race.

They are sensible because they recognize that a situation which promotes international interdependencies between the two superpowers is one which would make initiating a nuclear war totally unthinkable.

If Soviet living standards became more dependent upon U.S. agricultural trade and cooperation, as would be the case if agricultural linkages were more fully cultivated, then initiating nuclear hostilities would be tantamount to shooting oneself in the foot. Which of the two superpowers would want to do that?

Mr. Reston's suggestion is constructive because it places the stress upon cooperation, as opposed to confrontation, recognizing full well that a U.S. strategy which balances threat and cooperation is more prudent than one which relies solely upon threat.

His suggestion comes close to acknowledging the simple fact that a market comprises elements of cooperation and confrontation. By using food as a confrontational weapon in the export market with the Russians (as has been United States practice) the delicate balance between cooperation and confrontation has been upset. Cooperation through trade in food and agricultural knowledge is perhaps as illuminating a beacon of hope for a world secure from nuclear war as is a verifiable and mutual nuclear freeze.

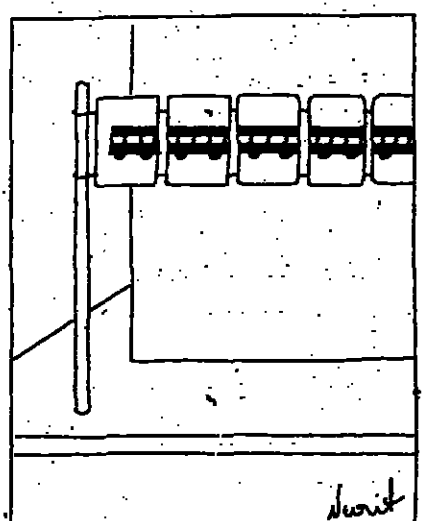
Mr. Reston's thoughts deserve serious discussion, particularly with respect to the United States' developing a defense strategy which includes greater weight given to peace through economic interdependence. I hope it is forthcoming.

W. P. WHELAN  
New Brunswick, N.J., April 7, 1983  
The writer is assistant professor of international agriculture at Rutgers University's Cook College.

## The Grass-Roots Vote Is for Rail Transit

To the Editor:

Your March 31 news article "New Data Raise Issue of Mass Transit's Value" describes a very misleading Census Bureau analysis of what is



supposed to be a sharp decline in mass-transit use. For a realistic picture, bus transportation and rail transportation must be differentiated. With the exception of the New York subway system (which is plagued by filth, crime, rotten service and gross

mismanagement), cities with rail transit service have had decided increases in ridership — Newark (city subway and PATH), Boston, New Orleans, San Francisco, Cleveland, Chicago and Pittsburgh. Most of the ridership decline was on the bus lines.

Of the eight "bus only" cities with a ridership increase, six — Los Angeles, Denver, Seattle, San Jose, Portland and Sacramento — are building or planning to build rail transit systems, because the buses can't carry future ridership increases. And even though they have a ridership decline, the following cities are also planning rail systems: Buffalo, Detroit, St. Louis, Kansas City, Dallas, Fort Worth, Houston, Miami and St. Petersburg.

The San Diego Light Rail System opened in 1981, after the Census, so it is not considered in the analysis. Its ridership is much higher than expected. And after the recent New Jersey rail strike, comments from the rail-riding public demonstrated that rail service is preferred over bus service. I think another analysis is needed.

LOUIS J. IASILLO  
Hackensack, N.J., April 7, 1983  
The writer heads the light rail transit subcommittee of the Transit Committee of Bergen County.

## An Evidence Rule in the Path of Justice

To the Editor:

Because the constable erred, why should the criminal go free? It was a good question when Justice Benjamin Cardozo asked it over 40 years ago, and it is still a good question.

Martin Garbus of the A.C.L.U. would have us believe that we must exclude all illegally seized evidence in order to preserve respect for the law and protect the rights of our citizens ("Excluding Justice," Op-Ed April 4). He knows better.

Being a practicing trial attorney, Mr. Garbus knows full well the absurd subtleties that have been grafted onto the "exclusionary rule." And he knows the absurd difficulty of trying even the most ordinary criminal cases. He also knows, as he admits in his article, the cynicism the present

state of the law has bred among the police. My guess is that he even knows how dangerous it is to walk most of the streets of New York after dark.

The Constitution of the United States does not require this state of affairs, and I for one am tired of hearing the preachers and the scoldings of the A.C.L.U. to the contrary. Mr. Garbus has no monopoly on the desire for ordered liberty.

May I remind him that the British, French, Swiss and other reasonable, civilized people have gotten along rather well without our version of the "exclusionary rule." May I also remind him that, as Justice Robert Jackson once said, "Our Constitution is not a suicide pact."

STEVEN STEIN  
Hollywood, Fla., April 6, 1983

## Best Solution to a \$20 Billion Tax-Cheating Problem

To the Editor:

Jack Kemp argues that withholding on interest and dividend income should be repealed (Op-Ed April 13). Joe Pechman argues why Democrats have supported withholding since Franklin Roosevelt (Op-Ed April 7). I want to explain why we Republicans support President Reagan's interest and dividend withholding law.

First, the Kemp article never admits the magnitude of the compliance problem. If compliance is a non-problem, it's natural to find withholding a "non-solution," but the facts don't support that claim. In dollar terms, over \$20 billion in interest and dividend income goes unreported; the tax lost if withholding is repealed would total over \$13 billion in the next five years. In human terms, from 20 to 25 million taxpayers fail to report fully their dividend or interest income.

Second, it is argued that mandatory interest and dividend withholding will be burdensome for the elderly. In fact, 85 percent of the elderly will be exempt. That is why the American Association of Retired Persons and the National Council of Senior Citizens support interest and dividend withholding.

President Reagan has been criticized as inconsistent because the 1980 Republican platform opposed the Carter withholding program. That plan was much harsher than President Reagan's. With its broad exemptions for the elderly and the poor and with a lower withholding rate, the Reagan plan will not impose any hardship on the elderly.

The Times welcomes letters from readers. Letters for publication must include the writer's name, address and telephone number. Because of the large volume of mail received, we regret that we are unable to acknowledge or to return unpublished letters.

And the Carter proposal would have paid for more uncontrolled Federal spending. Under the Reagan Administration, we have begun to get spending under control and reduce taxes; improved tax compliance will help pay for the tax cuts and savings incentives we enacted in 1981.

The most important argument made against withholding is that there are better ways to collect what is owed. In particular, information reporting is touted as a better alternative. The premise there is that only 3 percent of what is owed on interest income is not paid.

In fact, noncompliance is over three times that level: fully 10 percent of the tax owed goes unpaid. The 97 percent study that is cited ignores all cases in which no information returns are filed, the 18 million information returns that are improperly filed and the five million to six million taxpayers who fail to file at all. Eliminate those factors from the study, and the compliance rates look very good. But in the real world, 20 years of comprehensive information reporting has left us \$8 billion short each year.

It is also argued that even if information reporting is not effective today, the I.R.S. has the computers and the personnel to make it work

better and collect the tax owed.

Commissioner Egger, the man we rely on to collect our taxes, says the I.R.S. would be required to contact 18 to 20 million taxpayers. That tenfold increase in the number of taxpayer contacts would be a real paperwork nightmare and cost the Government more than \$1 billion annually.

Moreover, between 30,000 and 40,000 new I.R.S. agents would have to be hired, increasing I.R.S. total staff by almost one-half. That, in Commissioner Egger's view, would be a "totally unacceptable solution." I agree. The Kemp plan is one "jobs bill" we don't need.

The facts are clear: there's no better solution to the \$20 billion problem of taxpayer cheating on interest and dividend income than mandatory withholding. Those who argue otherwise either don't care about tax cheating, don't care about Federal deficits or plan to raise your taxes to make up the difference. Preserving withholding imposes no higher taxes on anyone, and repeal of withholding benefits only tax cheats.

President Reagan has called the right play on supporting interest and dividend withholding. BOB DOLE  
U.S. Senator from Kansas  
Washington, April 15, 1983

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## ABROAD AT HOME

Hope  
Against  
Hope

By Anthony Lewis

BOSTON — Years ago I heard an Israeli warn against "the immorality of pessimism." He was saying that it is wrong to give up in a struggle for human values, however grim the odds. His warning has come back to me with the news from the Middle East in these last days.

The hope of real peace has hardly ever looked so dim. The Palestinian leadership, with its genius for missing political opportunities, has obstructed what may have been the last clear chance for negotiations about the West Bank. How can anyone urge Prime Minister Begin to talk when there is no one to talk to? And so he will go on successfully with his policy of absorbing the West Bank: a success that, in my view, will destroy the character of Israel.

Is there, then, no way to avoid the immorality of pessimism? If there is one, it has to be found now within Israel. So I believe after meeting, the other day, an extraordinary young Israeli, He is Avraham Burg, the 28-year-old son of the country's great political survivor: Yosef Burg, leader of the National Religious Party and member of every Israeli Government since the state was born in 1948.

Avraham Burg is a former paratrooper who volunteered to rejoin his unit when the Lebanese war began although he is partially disabled from a jumping accident. He was never active politically — he says he hardly had a newspaper in his house — until that service in Lebanon. Now he is active in the Peace Now movement, working to bridge the conflicts between Israelis and Palestinians, and those within Israeli society.

"After we came back from Lebanon," he said, "some of us saw that what happened there was a reflection of things that have happened to Israeli society since 1967 — things we didn't want to admit to ourselves."

"There is the increasing reliance on power: physical power instead of the traditional Jewish reliance on spiritual power. Of course you need physical power to defend the spirit. But it doesn't mean you give up the spirit, and that is what I fear is happening."

"Along with that I feel a lack of acceptance of pluralism. We have democracy in Israel, maybe more than anywhere. But many individuals do not really respect other opinions. There are too many groups who claim to have total truth, so there is no dialogue. That is one reason for the increasing violence in Israel."

The West Bank is a central concern of Mr. Burg. He fears that taking permanent control of it and of Gaza will mean either admitting nearly 1.5 million Palestinians to a share of political power, thus changing the Jewish character of the state, or — more likely — denying them political rights and thus destroying Israeli democracy.

"If people say to me 'Territory means security,'" Mr. Burg said, "I say it need not. Territory can mean corruption, because colonization corrupts."

"Taking 1.5 million Arabs among us is dangerous. For me peace is security: a state for Jews. When I ask myself which I prefer, the partition of the land or the partition of the soul of the people, the answer is simple. I'd rather have a tiny little state of Jews than a big state that is shared."

Avraham Burg's fear of what the West Bank will do to Israel was being confirmed on the ground as he traveled in the United States on the invitation of the New Israel Fund. The Begin Government announced plans to build subsidized housing for 20,000 people there in the next 18 months, nearly doubling the Jewish population.

And the chief of staff of the Israeli Defense Forces, Gen. Rafael Eytan, made a candid statement on how Israel would deal with Arab resettlement in the West Bank. He told the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Security Committee:

"When we have settled the land, all the Arabs will be able to do about it will be to scurry around like drugged roaches in a bottle."

The pattern of life in the West Bank is becoming more and more like that in South Africa: with the Arabs used as workers without political rights and excluded from much of the land. The occupation authorities have by now declared an estimated two-thirds of the land off-limits to Arab residence.

The new issue of the American Jewish magazine *Moment* carries a report on the situation by its editor, Leonard Fein. He mentions an incident in the West Bank in which Jewish settlers objected to Arabs using an Israeli bus.

Avraham Burg is a religious man, and religion plays a large part in his view of Israel's future.

"When we established Israel," he said, "it was based on the feeling that we needed a new basis for Jewish continuity. Jewish existence. Now, for many, the state has become the end of existence instead of the means. It has become the Messiah."

"That is dangerous because in Judaism there is no Messiah now. You walk toward it. It is your ideal. If you achieve it, it's a false Messiah. And our history knows many false Messiahs who endangered Jewish existence. I'm afraid that if the Jewish state becomes such a false Messiah, such a substitute for our ideals, the day will come when we will recognize that and there will be a mortal crisis. I am against it totally."

"Judaism is not territories. It is more than a piece of the land."

Last week the Scowcroft commission published what is at once one of the best and worst state papers of the nuclear age. Unfortunately, it seems possible that the best parts will be less appealing to President Reagan than the worst. It is obvious from the elaborate White House orchestration that the report has been constructed with built-in Presidential approval and that at its core it is a selling job for the wrong missiles in the wrong place — 100 MX missiles in Minuteman silos. This solution has been repeatedly reviewed and rejected both by Congress and by the executive branch over the last 10 years.

But let us begin with the good parts. First, the report deliberately and correctly destroys one of the principal myths on which Mr. Reagan campaigned in 1980 — the myth of the "window of vulnerability," or the threat of a Soviet first strike on Minuteman silos. Growing Soviet missile forces with growing accuracy, it was said, would allow the Russians to knock out nearly all those silos early in the 1980's and the President would not dare respond because our cities would still be hostage. It was an unreal but chilling scenario, and until last week no one around Mr. Reagan had ever questioned it in public. Now the commission has given it a fitting burial. The commission observes that a "massive surprise attack" on our 1,000 Minuteman silos would be a very special case and concludes: "To deter such surprise attacks we can reasonably rely both on our other strategic forces and on the range of operational uncertainties that the Soviets would have to consider in planning such aggression." Thus, the window of vulnerability is slammed shut on the fearful fingers of the Committee on the Present Danger.

The commission puts one condition on this conclusion, and again it is a good one. The vulnerability of the Minuteman, considered alone, is real if uncertain, and it does raise a serious long-range question, because our bombers and submarines may not always be as survivable as they are

It destroys  
the 'window'  
mythology

now. If we can buy "long-term ICBM survivability" for a sensible price, we should indeed have it, and the most promising possibility is a smaller single-warhead missile, as thoughtful students have been saying for quite a while. The recommendation for careful research and development on such a new missile deserves full support.

A third good basic recommendation is allied to the first two: It is that we should seek to shift the counting rules of strategic arms control from launchers toward warheads. This good idea is a belated but entirely sensible effort to deal with the destabilizing effects of MIRV's (multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicles) — that is, many warheads on one missile. MIRV's are the United States' worst single contribution to the nuclear arms race. What they did, as many warned at the time, was to give the attack an advantage over the

McGeorge Bundy was Special Assistant for National Security Affairs to Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson. He was chairman of the General Advisory Committee of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency from 1979 to 1981.

The mayor of Chicago is a black man.

The City Council, forever and a day a pool of trained seals, is now an assemblage of independents, black and white, along with the seals, who are at the moment in a catatonic state.

The celebrated Chicago Machine is no longer celebrated. It is a junk heap. How did this happen?

Grassroots. An honest-to-God movement. Something I never believed possible in Chicago. Amateurs wiped the floor with the old pros, who were far from professional as they abandoned party and candidate. Vox populi, to them, was the fears and furies of their white blue-collar constituents who couldn't bear the thought of a black mayor. As Democratic ward committeemen, aldermen and precinct captains whispered, shouted, bawled out: Vote Republican! Images of Moe, Curly and Larry — the Three Stooges — were evoked. This comic turn might never have come about were it not for what happened on the other side of town.

For decades, the black people of Chicago were field hands on this plantation. This long preceded the reign of Richard (the Lion-Hearted) Daley. He merely refined the ritual of ward hacks, black and white, pointing these voters toward the one line on the ballot. In the 40's and 50's, the black belt was the fiefdom of Bill Dawson, black. The Man, who delivered the solid block to the greater fiefdom downtown. Never mind that these constituents were betrayed again and again, they were delivered.

Deliverance.

Something was happening in the 60's. Dr. King visited Chicago and didn't do too well. Yet, it was Chicago, of all the Northern cities, he chose. The hardest nut to crack. Nothing too much was gained by the visit, yet something stayed. Could it have been a growing awareness of selfhood? A touch more of self-esteem? When Mayor Jane Byrne, astonishingly elected by a white blizzard and black votes, outdid herself in outrageousness by dumping two black members

Studs Terkel, a lifelong Chicagoan, is author of "American Dreams: Lost and Found" and "Working."

MX Paper: Appealing,  
But Mostly Appalling

By McGeorge Bundy

defense, because a multiple-warhead missile can "kill" several opposing missiles in one shot, while it takes at least two single-warhead missiles to "kill" even one similar weapon with assurance.

SALT, for reasons of verification and habit, counted mostly launchers, not warheads. This way of counting strengthened attachment to MIRV's on both sides, because if you can have only so many missiles under an agreement, why not pack them with as many warheads as you can? We were first with MIRV's, but the Russians have been most, and the commission is right: It is time to go to work to change the counting rules. The commission is also right when it notes that some of Mr. Reagan's proposals in the strategic arms talks in Geneva move in the wrong direction on this score.

So far so good. What is wrong? Only the centerpiece of the report. It goes in exactly the opposite direction by placing the first-strike multiple-warhead MX in Minuteman silos, right where Soviet MIRV's could knock it out if ever the Kremlin thought we were about to use it. Because the MX has 10 warheads, not the two that is the average in the Minuteman force, it

will be five times as vulnerable, warhead for warhead, as Minuteman itself. It violates the fundamental rule first laid down in the Eisenhower Administration: The object of any new strategic system is to deter, and to deter safely it must be able to survive.

If there was ever a "use it or lose it" system, ill-designed for stability in crisis, it is this one. Yet it comes to us from a commission that elsewhere tells us that "stability should be the primary objective." A system of this kind is open to only one protective device, a capacity for launch-on-warning — for rapid firing on possibly fallible electronic notice of an incoming attack. But on this critical point, the commission is alarmingly silent. It would have done better to recognize more candidly its deliberate abandonment of our most important single standard for strategic force planning.

The arguments offered directly for this strange choice are thin. We need it to induce Soviet acceptance of new arms control limits, says the commission. But as the commissioners recognize, the Russians are already testing their own MX and their own single-warhead missile. The Soviet answer to new programs will be new programs, not new concessions. If the

commission wants a no-new-MIRV agreement, which would make good sense, it should propose just that. It should not pretend that the MX in Minuteman silos is arms control in disguise. Nor should it compare this problem with that of the antiballistic missile defense treaty. The Russians joined us in curbing ABM systems precisely to insure the deterrent effectiveness of their land-based missiles. They are not going to be driven to sea by MX. The whale will not convert the elephant by imitation.

Most of the commission's other direct arguments are thinner still. If we do not deploy MX, it says, the Russians will doubt our "national will and cohesion." Is honest disagreement on hard choices a sign of weakness? A commission of Americans should know better. But our existing land-based intercontinental missile force is aging, says the commission. So it is, but as the commissioners recognize in the very next sentence, the necessary programs for keeping this force effective are already in train. But, they argue, we need a hedge against possible Soviet antiballistic missiles. Is the commission suggesting that our existing 10,000 warheads could not be programmed for this task? But, it says, we need a new booster as a backup for the space shuttles. Well, if we do, we do. But is this a serious argument for 1,000 new first-strike thermonuclear warheads?

The real purpose is different, but the commission wraps it in jargon. The main reason for this recommendation is that a commanding majority of its authors want these first-strike weapons because the Soviet Union has them. Never mind their contribution to instability in crisis; never mind what the Russians will build in reply; never mind what else you could do with \$15 billion; never mind the fact that the Russians do not have a true first-strike capability because the window of vulnerability was never open; never mind that Soviet advances on land are fully matched by our superiority in the air and under water. Because the Russians do have weapons that can strike first at hard targets, the commission concludes that

But it sells the  
wrong missiles  
in the wrong place

we must have them, too. When you disentangle all the report's complex language, that is all there is, and the commissioners neglect to tell us that we have plenty of weapons already that can strike hard targets second — our bomber force may be the best system in the world for this legitimate purpose.

For almost 30 years, we have made survivable second-strike strength our central strategic standard. Are we now to move, in a cloud of consensus, to a new standard, the acquisition of a first-strike system?

At the very least Congress should dig deeper than the commission or its sponsor. It might begin by seeking counsel from all quarters — there are many outstanding students in its own ranks. It should not rely on a report written by a panel carefully selected to include only tested friends of MX. It might well find that the Scowcroft commission has almost everything right except the recommendation that was preannounced by the White House. In spite of the commission's unexplained insistence that all its ideas make a single package, Congress has every right and duty to take only what it finds truly needed.

The Chicago Machine  
Is a Junk Heap

By Studs Terkel

of the Chicago Housing Authority and replacing them with two whites, avowedly segregationist, it was too much. Jane obviously thought we were still on Daley Time. It was long past that hour.

In the black community, on the south and west sides, there was a sort of voter registration drive going on. Sort of. In churches, in high-rise public housing, in welfare stations, in club rooms — wherever blacks gathered — the word was: register. And, brother, did they. And when Harold Washington declared for mayor, you saw waves of blue buttons all over town. Well, not quite. Though a surprising number of whites were sporting them, it was not deemed advisable

it's the one pa or grandpa worked his guts out to build. Every guy keeps his lawn neatly mowed and the streets clean. And now all he hears is black this and black that and they're surrounding us. And the next thing you hear is bye bye property values. Apartheid may sound like a bad word in Afrikaans but integration sounds even worse in English.

It is the spirit of the frontier in keeping the bad guys out. It is the wagon train encircled, and beyond those hills the savages lie in wait. Every man is John Wayne and every woman Barbara Stanwyck.

And now, a black mayor. Never mind Detroit, never mind Los An-

A black mayor? How did this happen?  
Grassroots. Amateurs wiped the  
floor with the pros. That's how.

to show them off in Bridgeport, Marquette Park, Cragin or in any of the other white blue-collar neighborhoods. Chicago is known as a city of neighborhoods. Tightly bound. The "ethnic communities" as well as the blacks. The city has been so laid out that neighborhoods are almost cities unto themselves. Though the appearances are the most modern, brand names and all, the spirit is frontier. The stranger is subject to a glance that registers. Not hostile so much as deadpan cool. That is, if you're white. If you're black, oh brother, get back, get back.

You see, the hard-working man owns a bungalow on which he may still be making payments, or perhaps

gees, never mind Atlanta. This is Chicago, for God's sake, where the sainted Mayor Daley had the city so laid out you wouldn't see a black face for miles around. And out there, in those high-rise ghettos, you wouldn't see a white face for miles around. We were Johannesburg-on-the-lake, Chicago-style. And out there, it was Soweto, Chicago-style. How could what happened last Tuesday happen?

Yes, there was an overwhelming black vote for Washington as there was an almost equally overwhelming white vote for his opponent. Epton was his name — just for the record. Almost is the operative word. Eighteen percent of whites went Washing-

ton. Who were they?

The new mayor got what he needed among the Lakefront Liberals. Barely, but enough. (Lakefront Liberal is a phrase that is as phony as the Tom Wolfe-coined "radical chic." Hardly anyone refers to "conservative chic," or, what's more to the point, "indifference chic," yet when somebody relatively well off takes his civics lessons seriously, he's put down by those of his peers who don't.)

They can nibble at all the cheese they want and sip all the wine they want as long as they come through. They did.

And there is one other part of Chicago, hardly advertised. Blue-collar white working-class people who labored mightily in the vineyards for a black man. In the 10th ward, the platoon of Fast Eddie Vrdolyak, county chairman of the Democratic Party, Washington got 38 percent of the vote. It was the work of Marian Burns, middle-aged Irish Catholic schoolteacher south Chicagoan all her life; it was Johnny Chico, bringing out the Mexican vote; it was Edna Pardo; it was the other Eddie of the ward, Ed Sadlowski, steelworker, union organizer. They knocked on any door and all doors; they were, as the old spiritual goes, "buked and scorned." Yet kept on knocking. Jobless steelworkers — just enough — voted for the black man. As Ed Sadlowski recalls: "In precincts, where we'd expect 8 or 10 votes, we got 35, 40. That's where the working stiff were at. They restored my confidence in ordinary people. There's a lot of bitterness and recrimination, but with time . . ." His voice trails off in wonderment.

Eddie felt low on election eve, as I did. I, who felt I had been celebrating the Sadlowskis in my works, had lost my faith as I listened, seriously, to the authorities on TV and in print. It is in the spirit of exhilaration and some shame I write these words about the most astonishing municipal campaign in American history.

Sports note: Jimmy the Greek, the well-advertised handicapper, on election eve picked Bernard Epton as the 7-to-5 favorite. Tip to a tipster: Vegas high rollers are not the last word on Chicago politics and Chicago life.

## WASHINGTON

Six  
More  
Years?

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, April 16 — The Reagan Administration feels it has won a "great victory" in the Senate confirmation of Kenneth L. Adelman as the new director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. And the President says, "We are not doing anything to try and overthrow the Government of Nicaragua."

If you can believe this, you can believe that President Kennedy didn't really try to overthrow the Castro regime, President Johnson won the war in Vietnam, and President Nixon was just kidding at Watergate.

Mr. Adelman was finally confirmed after months of bickering because to reject him now would dramatize the inner disorder of the Administration on this presiding question of foreign policy. This wasn't a victory for anything, except maybe Soviet propaganda. The Senate merely agreed to leave had enough alone.

What this incident demonstrated, not for the first time, was the casualness, or even carelessness, of the President's appointments procedure. He could have had George Shultz as Secretary of State from the beginning instead of Al Haig, who was better qualified to run the Pentagon than Cappy Weinberger.

Likewise, he could have appointed William D. Ruckelshaus to head the Environmental Protection Agency from the beginning, but summoned him only after its internal philosophical and administrative confusion became a public scandal.

Kenneth Adelman wasn't the cause of this latest flap after the dismissal of Eugene Rostow at the arms agency but the victim of the Reagan system, if that's the right word. The really valid criticism, with which Mr. Adelman would probably agree, was that he was simply not the best qualified person available to manage the most critical and complicated foreign policy question of our time.

It's ridiculous to say that Mr. Adelman or the President are somehow indifferent to the control of nuclear weapons, but there has been an odd approach to the arms agency by this Administration from the start. While the President is still fighting for a 10 percent increase in the Pentagon budget, there have been significant cuts in funding for many key activities of the agency.

Also, its main computer was removed, and it must share a computer with another Government agency, meaning the disarmament agency must now rely on the Pentagon for classified research it used to be able to do itself. The number of permanent employees has been cut back 25 percent, and half its library has been given to George Washington University. Maybe there were good reasons for this other than fiscal economy, but this Administration does have a peculiar notion of priorities.

Central America is another case in point. At first, the Administration made a great fuss about the shipment of Communist arms into the region and promised to stop this flow "at the source," which presumably meant Cuba.

Then the propaganda apparatus was turned down for a while and little was heard about Central America until recently; it has been turned up again amid increasing suspicion that the Administration is violating the law and trying to overthrow the Nicaraguan Government.

Not so, says Mr. Reagan, it's the Nicaraguan Government that's trying to overthrow the Government of El Salvador. Here again, as in the Adelman case, the Congress hesitates to pass a law explicitly forbidding him to interfere either directly or indirectly for any purpose, though the United States is already treaty-bound under the specific terms of the Organization of American States to refrain from doing so. This is another case of the President's acting first and thinking later after protests from a Congress that goes along reluctantly rather than make things worse than they are.

Meanwhile, Karen Elliott House, in a revealing Wall Street Journal interview with King Hussein of Jordan, discloses the secret promises President Reagan made to the King, without Israel's knowledge, in the hope of persuading him to join the talks on the Reagan plan, which Israel opposes.

These include putting pressure on Israel to halt the settlements of its people in the West Bank, promising "you will not be pressed to join negotiations on transition arrangements until there is a freeze on new Israeli settlements," and offering to sell a squadron of America's most advanced fighter planes — F-16's — if the King will join the talks.

Also, according to the Journal's interview, which has caused something of a stir here but has not been denied at the White House, Mr. Reagan told King Hussein that he knew he would lose the "Jewish vote" in 1984 by backing a peace plan Israel opposed but that he would win anyway. "We'll be partners for six more years," the President said, according to King Hussein's notes of their conversations.

There is something capricious about all this. The evidence seems to be that Mr. Reagan is inattentive part of the time, as in the Adelman appointment, impulsively anti-Communist, as in some of his Central American activities, and sometimes highly active and personal, as in his dealings with King Hussein.

It's interesting to know the President's present way of thinking about reelection from such an odd source. But do we really want six more years of this sort of misconduct of foreign policy?



# Filmmakers Take a Hard Look at Israel

BY JANE FRIEDMAN

Israeli cinema is coming of age. Buoyed by the success of serious, highly personal films written by directors, companies that once bankrolled only the frothy comedies known as *burekas* are now financing artistic films.

And foreign investors are becoming attracted to the role of co-producer as the realization grows that serious movies exploring the complexities of Israeli society may succeed in the lucrative markets overseas, while melodrama, farce and other western genres have nothing to offer the United States or Europe, which can, in most cases, make them better.

In this new climate, Israel's serious filmmakers are enjoying a heyday of sorts. The industry is producing movies whose dramatic plots are specific to Israel's circumstances. More and more of Israel's films are introspective, political, and critical of the way Israel has developed. Filmmakers here are beginning to focus on how the siege and militaristic atmosphere have fostered extremism on both sides of the political spectrum and have taken a heavy toll of the ability of the average Israeli to show his real emotions.

If, several years ago, serious filmmakers constituted a fringe new wave that had to mortgage its possessions each time it wanted to crank out a personal film, today these artists have achieved genuine legitimacy.

Seven examples of their work will be on display in New York when the Second Annual Israeli Film Festival opens Tuesday at the 72d Street East Theater.

Organized by Meir Fenigstein, a former drummer, the festival is intended in part to promote Israel as a location for American productions. But for movie fans, the focal point is the Israeli films themselves, reflecting a substantial body of cinematic work that, when assembled, gives a complex, colorful and probably accurate picture of that intense and paradoxical experience called Israel.

The entries include: Jacob Goldwasser's "Big Shots" (formerly titled "Undernose"), a bleak look at the nor-

malization of Israeli society, where petty thieves are rivaled in their bungling only by Tel Aviv's inept police force;

"Noa at Seventeen," by Zepel Yeshurun, a story about the ideological conflict that drove a rift through his own kibbutz;

"Hamsin," by Daniel Wachsmann, a mordant political drama about the feuds and hatreds between the Jews and Arabs in the Galilee, a film nominated for an Oscar by the Israeli Film Board;

"An Intimate Story," by Nadav Levitan, about a kibbutz where every member is an Israeli Madame Defarge and where a marriage is falling apart;

"Boy Meets Girl" (formerly titled "First Loves"), by Michal Bar-Adam, which describes the "loves" of 9- and 10-year-old kibbutz children;

"The Last Winter," by Riki Shelach, a drama whose plot revolves around two women who identify the same soldier as their missing husband from a newspaper photo of prisoners of war;

"The Troupe," by Avi Nesher, a musical comedy about the growing pains of an entertainment troupe.

Dan Wolman, one of the most respected Israeli filmmakers, says, "Now producers are realizing that the films they thought were commercial — like *burekas* — are limited to the local market. And films like 'Hamsin' are sold abroad. Suddenly these films are more interesting to producers."

These films explore the dark side of Israeli life. As in "Big Shots," they puncture the myth of the Israeli as the fine soldier, the pure worker, the redeemed Jew shedding his past and forging a new land on a heroic scale. As in "Noa," they examine rifts in society. As in "Hamsin," they explore the violence that many of these filmmakers believe has become part of daily life as Israelis have become habituated to war and have internalized their rage.

"The crime of the 60's was the crime of passion," says Mr. Wolman, whose most famous film is "My Michael," based on the Amos Oz novel. "Now a man can't sleep at night so he kills a kid. And settlers go around shooting people up. Things we read about in other countries are happening here. We've become the people, not the chosen people. My film and the



A scene from "Big Shots," also known as "Undernose," showing this week in the Israeli Film Festival in New York

others reflect that kind of thing. It's new."

Israeli films, such as "Big Shots," are also exploring the special aspects of color, texture and light that make up the Israeli topography and its cinematic frame — an effort to achieve a specific national cinema. As Jacob Goldwasser, the film's director, points out, his film has no soft light, no

lamp shades. Just bare bulbs and neon lights. It's Israeli.

If the economic lot of Israel's new wave directors is improving, many still act as if they are living from hand to mouth and fear they will continue to do so in the future. So they offer their own services and seek others free. Some of the films in the festival exemplify this, too.

"Noa at Seventeen" was filmed on one kibbutz, in one house, with Mr. Yeshurun writing, producing and directing the script. Mr. Wachsmann played in his own film, "Hamsin," which Mr. Goldwasser produced on a

budget of \$250,000. And when Mr. Goldwasser made "Big Shots" (budget \$350,000) his friend Mr. Wachsmann returned the favor and played in one scene. Riki Shelach first got the idea for "The Last Winter" from Dan Wolman.

Many of Israel's filmmakers struggle for years so that every so often they can produce a film close to their heart. Mr. Yeshurun, who studied film in Paris and was an assistant director there for five years, returned to Israel and imported marble in order to amass funds for films. Jacob Goldwasser makes commercials. "For my next film," he says, "I'm thinking what to make and not get stuck with big debts."

It seems clear, though, that these writer-filmmakers intend to go on describing Israeli society, translating their experiences, feelings and political attitudes into cinematic fiction. About the only things likely to change, for the better, are the budgets and the technical level of their films.

For example, riding on the success of "Noa," Mr. Yeshurun has received financing from Roli Films, one of the more active production companies, for his next film "Married Couple," a \$600,000 saga of a 40-year-old bored couple.

But Mr. Yeshurun longs to return to politics and next envisions an epic tale of a Sephardic Jewish family, its travails at the turn of the century and in early Israel, a story which will explain why the Sephardim dislike the ruling Ashkenazi elite today.

The film appears certain to spark controversy in a nation bitterly divided into ethnic groups. With the pessimism based on past experience that typifies so many of these filmmakers, Mr. Yeshurun believes he will have to finance this one himself.

After "Hamsin," Daniel Wachsmann is at work on a new script, set in the 1940's, about a right-wing Jewish extremist group (like the one to which Menachem Begin belonged before the establishment of the state) in which one member was so dangerous that the organization murdered him.

And Jud Ne'eman, who made a film critical of the army, is now complet-

ing a new work called "Fellow Travelers," partially funded by West German and British television, which describes a left-wing group in Israel in which one faction wants to establish an Arab university and another is ready to buy arms.

A film likely to stir debate is Dan Wolman's next. Titled "Night Soldier," it deals with a young man who is rejected by the army and goes mad, embarking on a murderous rampage that ends in a bloody battle.

"There's an admiration of strength in Israel," says Mr. Wolman, who wants to show the effects of the army's exaltation. "We grow up on these fantasies. The boy in the film — being rejected by the army — tries to create an army artificially."

If the development of Israel's new wave seems staggering, many of the directors are guarded in their outlook. "Now is a very good period," says Mr. Yeshurun, "but the minute the producers find out they're losing money, they'll stop investing."

Nevertheless, the figures show that the new wave is advancing. When the box-office receipts from 1982 were totaled, it turned out that the hottest ticket had been "Private Popcorn," a lowbrow, bawdy spinoff of "Grease," which drew almost 600,000 Israelis, fully 20 percent of the population. But the second, third and fourth place finishers were dry, painful Israeli explorations of a society in turmoil, largely produced on shoestring budgets. Only a few years ago, they could not have anticipated more than a brief run because the public for them did not exist.

Now the Israeli Film Festival in New York will give such movies a chance to find a wider audience. But the directors, historically downtrodden and so Jewish in their humor that they tend to see the situation as bad and getting worse, are not sanguine.

Says Dan Wolman: "The saddest thing about the New York festival is that most of the people who come are the 'Yordim' — the Israelis who left Israel — who come to see their old favorites, instead of the people who come to learn about the culture of a country." But Mr. Wolman could be wrong.

## Why Do We Watch The Academy Awards?

By VINCENT CANBY

It's like taking an extremely slow Seventh Avenue Local subway to heaven. It's a very long ride, and overcrowded, and the arrival — by which time one is exhausted — is always a bit of an anticlimax. Yet one simply cannot afford to miss it. It is, of course, the annual Oscar awards ceremony of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences — and the 55th presentation, last Monday night, was everything one could have wished it to be, including dignified.

Dignity, often qualified as "human," was the theme of the night, and to quote Noel Coward ("A Marvelous Party"), I couldn't have enjoyed it more.

Speaking most eloquently on behalf of dignity were Dickie — or — Sir Richard Attenborough, accepting his two statuettes as both the director and producer of "Gandhi," Jack Briley, his award-winning screenwriter, and the truly gifted Ben Kingsley, the film's award-winning star. They didn't exactly cut through all the glamour and hoopla as much as they legitimized it by solemnly reminding us of our greed, our selfishness, our cruelty, as well as of the possibility of "man's undying humanity."

Early in the evening Fay Kanin, the academy's president, put things in perspective by recalling that she had never fully understood the impact of movies on humanity until she visited Anne Frank's hiding place in Amsterdam and saw the pictures of movie stars still tacked to the walls.

Then there was Liza Minnelli's introduction of Charlton Heston, who was to present the Jean Hersholt Humanitarian Award to Walter Mirisch, a former recipient of the

about maniacs running amok on appropriate holidays. The America in which "Gandhi" wins the Oscar as the best film of the year is not, I'm afraid, much different from the America in which "The Godfather" was similarly celebrated. It's somewhat more conservative, perhaps, but we don't need Hollywood to tell us that.

It's odd that the more adventurous votes this year were committed to the seemingly more conventional films, "E.T. the Extra-Terrestrial" and "Tootsie." However, one of the ways in which American films have grown up in the last two decades is in our recognition that "serious" movies — that is, movies as art — need not necessarily be about "serious" subjects. A film's style and sensibility are as important as its subject matter. "E.T." and "Tootsie" are films. "Gandhi" is a laboriously illustrated textbook.

Fred Allen, I'm told, once said something to the effect that when it's 9 P.M. in New York, it's 1947 in Hollywood. It must give us all pause to realize that the Oscar won by Lou Gossett Jr., as the year's best supporting actor for his performance in "An Officer and a Gentleman," is the first to be given a black actor since Sidney Poitier received his for "Lilies of the Field" (1963). So much for the great social changes we keep hearing about.

Yet one of the show's major sponsors was Atari, a manufacturer of the video games that now not only support a large number of filmmakers but may one day make movies, as we know them, obsolete.

And, speaking of sponsors, what would Gandhi have thought? Surrounding the presentation of the 11 awards to "Gandhi," a movie about a man who believed that all personal possessions are offensive to the spirit, were "announcements" on behalf of, among other things, Coca-Cola, General Motors, General Electric, Sprite, Charly, Revlon, Polaroid cameras, the Chemical Bank, Bell Telephone, deodorized carpets and Calvin Klein jeans.

I shall long cherish Mickey Rooney's appearance to receive a special Oscar in recognition of his 60 years as a performer. Humble he wasn't, but why should he be? As he told us rather curtly, he'd been the world's biggest box office star at 19 and, at 40, unable to get work. As he accepted the award as his due, he also named all of the other awards he'd received recently, just in case the academy members thought they were doing him a favor.

I also tremendously enjoyed the appearance of Jane Russell and Cornel Wilde, representing the glamour that used to be, who presented the Oscar for, I think, highest achievement in the art of makeup. After a brief clip from their 1956 co-starring film, "Hot Blood," a marvelous bit of foolishness that I thought nobody except me and other Nick Ray fans remembered, they gave the Oscar to the people who'd worked on "Quest of Fire," a movie about prehistoric men with lots of hair all over them.

This must remain one of the great "found" moments in any Oscar show. It was reassuring to see these two stars again — Mr. Wilde sporting what seems to be his own new hairline, and Miss Russell, who now appears mostly in TV commercials for bras designed for the woman with "a full figure," a miniparadox of sorts since she first attracted attention by wearing no bras at all.

It also was moving to watch the expression of Jessica Lange as she accepted her award as the year's best supporting actress for her performance in "Tootsie." This, of course, was the signal that the big prize, the Oscar for the best performance by an actress in a leading role, was going not to her but to Meryl Streep for "Sophie's Choice." Getting one award at the expense of another can't be much fun. It's like being patted on the head and kicked in the stomach.

Steven Spielberg probably was not a happy man at evening's end, but then "E.T. the Extra-Terrestrial" is making so much money that one day he'll be able to buy and sell all of Hollywood, including Price Waterhouse. It seems incredible that "Tootsie" got lost in the "Gandhi" sweep, but then the "Tootsie" clip, which we were shown, was probably the only genuinely funny moment in the entire show. Not especially dignified, just funny.

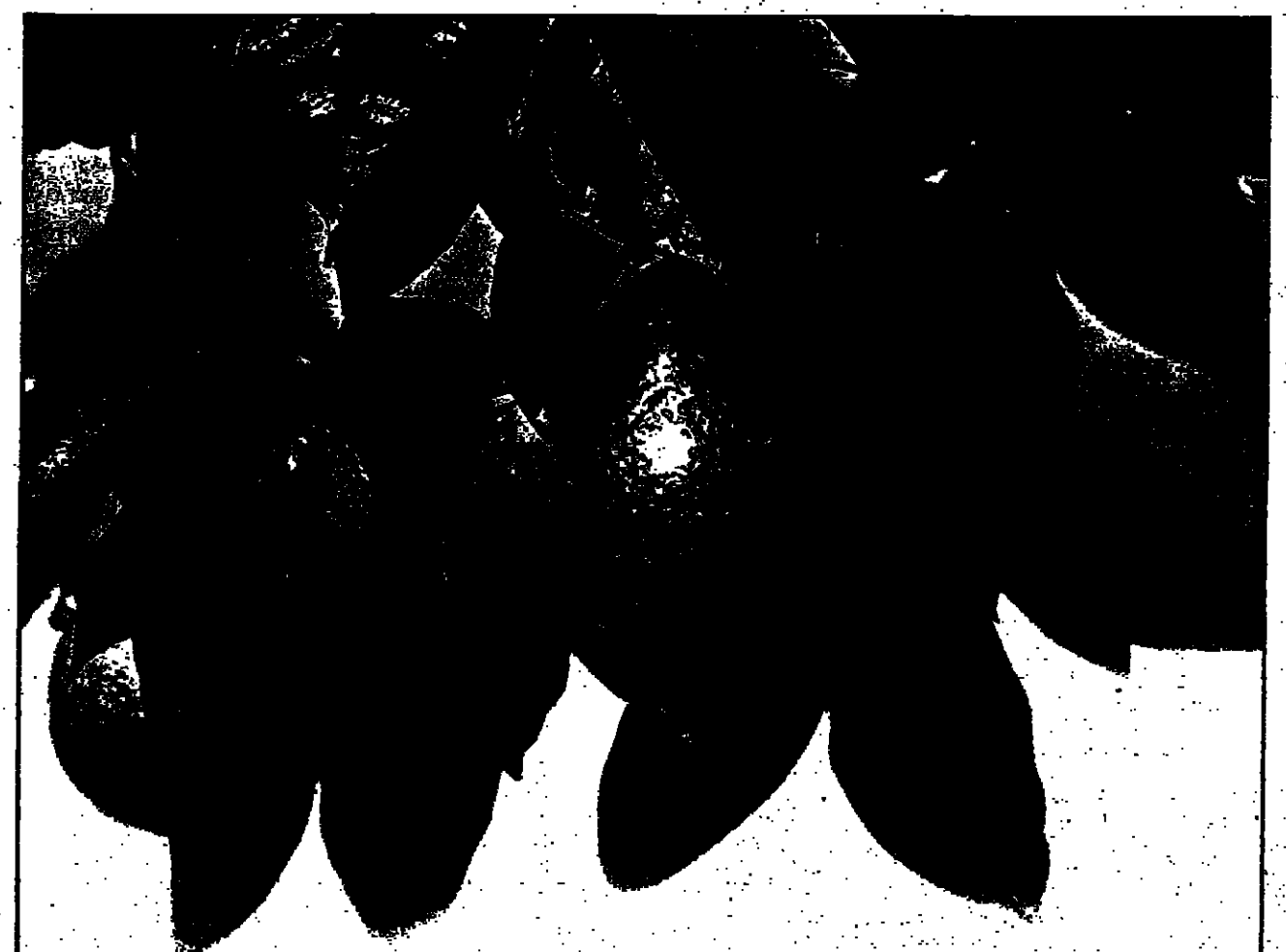
The annual Oscar telecast has to do not only with movies but with American civilization, as it is and as it wants to see itself.

Irving Thalberg Award for consistent production excellence. Mr. Heston, she reminded us, is a man who "brings dignity and stature to almost any occasion." It's as if in Hollywood, where the grandest affairs are catered, dignity can be delivered to the house, given 24 hours notice.

Why do we watch this nonsense with such rapt attention? Possibly because it isn't quite as nonsensical as it appears. More than any other program of its kind, the annual Oscar telecast epitomizes American show biz and where show biz happens to be at that particular moment. It has to do not only with movies and the state of that so-called popular art, but also with television, with business and especially with the American civilization, as it is and as it wants to see itself.

When the members of the motion picture academy honor a film like "Gandhi," a perfectly reverent if unexceptional film about an exceptional man, they are paying their dues to the race (human), certifying their instincts (good) and, I suspect, sighing with relief in the realization that movies about worthy subjects can make money. People in Hollywood would like nothing better than to make worthy films, but the spectacular fiasco of Darryl F. Zanuck's "Wilson" (1944) still haunts their collective memory.

When worthiness pays off, it's a time for rejoicing in movie boardrooms, even though worthy movies are just as much of a fad as road movies, youth movies, or movies



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# ORWELLIAN VISIONS

The Post's Meir Merhav reports from Bonn on the uproar generated by the proposed census

WEST GERMANY'S Constitutional Court last week postponed a national census which had been planned for April 27 and which has aroused bitter protests and widespread opposition.

The delay will allow the court time to consider whether the census infringes on constitutional rights to privacy.

At first glance, there would seem to be nothing to arouse passions in a population census which, by international convention, is normally taken every 10 years, and was carried out without much ado in law-abiding Germany in 1950, 1960 and 1970. This time, by contrast, many people in Germany are prepared to defy the law and face stiff fines. Citizens object to what they see as unnecessary and over-zealous official prying into their intimate affairs or, worse still, suspect as a sinister attempt by the state to equip itself with the data for a pervasive system of computerized surveillance and control. It conjures up Orwellian horror visions of Big Brother.

The opposition to the census is widespread and cuts across the entire political spectrum. On the left wing, the new Greens Party, just seated in the newly-elected Bundestag, immediately tabled a bill to repeal the Census Act, and called for a boycott of the operation. The Social Democrats, last year still in government, and just responsible for the census act, had second thoughts: seeing the final product — the questionnaire and the procedure by which the census was to be taken — they called for postponement so as to permit a revision. Liberal newspapers, such as the *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* and the respected *Die Zeit*, came out against the census. And even the right-wing Bavarian premier, Franz Josef Strauss, favoured a postponement and a second look.

The parliamentary motions to postpone and revise the census were defeated. But the assurances of Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann, Strauss's right-hand man in the Christian Social Union, that the data to be collected by some 600,000 census takers would not be put to any improper use, were not very reassuring. Quite a few people remembered that Zimmermann had, some 20 years ago, been found guilty of perjury and had been ac-

quitted on appeal only because of temporarily impaired judgment due to medical causes.

Outside the political institutions, groups of citizens all over the country have been calling for a boycott of the census. If enough people heed these calls — a million out of the 20 million-odd households that are to be counted will be enough — the entire operation, at a cost of some DM370m., will become statistically worthless. For those who object to the census because it may become a tool for spying by the police and the security services, the irony is that those who refuse outright to fill out and hand in the questionnaires have to fear, in addition to the fines, being marked as potential "subversives."

However, it is not necessary to refuse outright. It will be enough to fold the questionnaires, or fill them in with a ball-point pen, to confound the computers. The machines can only read soft pencil script.

WHY ALL THE passion? Why have the Germans all of a sudden become so suspicious of authority? There are several answers, on different levels. The most superficial level is that the German authorities — the Statistical Bureau and the administration — seem to have been over-zealous, over-thorough, and not sensitive enough to the changes in public attitudes and social reality that have taken place since the last census was taken in 1970. They have therefore done just about everything wrong.

For one thing, the questionnaires have been compiled in a manner that does not ensure anonymity. Identifying information — name, address, telephone number, and the like — is not detached from the data required and sufficient for statistical purposes. In addition, the parts of the questionnaire that contain non-personal data carry a code number. With today's computer techniques, this code number permits, according to expert opinion, the re-identification of the individuals to whom the data relate.

For another thing, the questionnaires are also to be used for updating the population register. This means that, although the authorities promise that the identifying information will be destroyed after those registers have been updated, these data will be lying around, for as much as 18 months, accessible to almost anybody. If that were not enough to make people suspicious, the over-thoroughness of the Census Act itself added to it: it provides that the Bureau of Statistics may make the information available to other government organizations, as well as to private organizations, enterprises and individuals. Assurances that this will not contain identifying data are not persuasive, if the code numbers can be broken as easily as various experts have said.

THERE ARE additional grounds for suspicion and distrust. In Munich, the census takers have been promised a bonus of DM2.50 for every person counted and not listed in the population register, and DM5.00 for every foreigner. Under German law, foreign guest-workers must have at least 12sq.m. of living space per person; otherwise they may be expelled from the country. Many of them obviously live under more crowded conditions, either because they cannot get more spacious flats or because they can't afford them. The census will disclose that.

But on a deeper level, having to do with social changes that have occurred, the census will disclose still more. In line with UN convention, the census is addressed to households. However, a "household" nowadays is not necessarily what it used to be — a family consisting of a married couple with children and, perhaps, a grandmother or other close relative living with them. There are communes, which may consist of two couples sharing an apartment, or 20 people living under the same roof. Not all of them have laid their lives bare, even to the people with whom they

live together — and now the census comes and wants to know everything about everybody and everything.

There are, it is said, some two million homosexuals in Germany. Some of them live together. Who, then, is the head of the household? There are men who, on the quiet, have a second apartment somewhere for an intimate female friend. The census wants to know about such second apartments. What if the lawful wife wants to have a look at the questionnaire filled out by her husband, the "head of the household"? There are young men who have rented a room in Berlin so as to escape the draft. The census will now make this information available to the army authorities.

And although the law says that nobody can be harmed by information given to the census, the authorities, once having the information, can get at the people they want in other ways. At least that is what people suspect.

THE SUSPICION, the distrust and the opposition, however, go still deeper, and reflect a change in attitude to the state and its institutions, combined with fear of the awesome power that modern technology puts at its disposal. In the mid-Seventies, Germany went through a period of terrorism and, in response, a rapid and extensive development of a compendium of judicial, administrative, intelligence and surveillance measures to combat terrorism and subversion. The laws that determine bureaucratic evolution have endowed this machinery with a life of its own.

In January, the magazine *Der Spiegel* published a series that disclosed the degree of technical and organizational sophistication to which the German police and other security services have already perfected a system of all-pervasive surveillance. Video cameras, it reported, were set up at sensitive spots, such as Frankfurt's main railway station, to keep under con-

stant surveillance such things as mailboxes into which terrorists' letters to newspapers, announcing their actions, might be dropped. The hidden video cameras, with their zoom lenses, could record who did the mailing. They could also see who met whom, and who — another characteristic of terrorists and subversives — bought several supra-regional papers at the news-stand. During demonstrations, police cars equipped with video cameras would photograph the demonstrators. The tapes would be matched up with photographs filed at headquarters.

Data were obtained to permit a screening of whole groups of people with characteristics that might enable the security services to filter potential subversives. People who usually paid their electricity bills in cash, lived in high-rise buildings or in a commune, were aged between, say, 20 and 35, were recorded and

screened.

Nor did all this develop blindly, through excessive zeal and a mindless thoroughness of security services intent upon using the latest sinister toys that modern technology was able to put at their disposal. *Der Spiegel* quoted the former chief of Germany's federal police, Horst Herold, who made this system of surveillance into a philosophy, what he wanted, as the best guarantee of a society free of crime, terrorism and subversion, was a "transparent" society.

MANY GERMANS do not want to be "transparent" to the eyes of the authorities. Some believe in democracy and trust it, and cannot see why one of the most market-oriented societies in the world needs all the information it is asking for, supposedly for planning purposes. In an economy that has next to no state planning, they say, there is no need for planning data.

Others also believe in democracy, but don't quite trust that what they have really is democracy, and they want to limit the encroachment of authority on personal liberty, and bolt the door on the invasion of their privacy. Still others simply

distrust "the system."

Opposition to the census in Germany may be exaggerated. But while much of the suspicion and distrust is probably unfounded, it is a healthy symptom. In a democracy, people should be suspicious of authority.

Perhaps there is even a lesson in it for Israel. There was a news report last week that some 900 people who hold licences to carry firearms have been under psychiatric treatment, and the call is for the police and the Health Ministry to pool their data, so that former psychiatric patients do not run around totting guns. What prevents this elegant solution of pooling computer data is a squabble over who should pay the cost — the police or the Health Ministry.

It does not seem to have occurred to anyone that the same purpose might be achieved without invading the privacy of people (who are not necessarily homicidal maniacs just because they may have needed psychiatric help). For example, by requiring applicants for gun licences to obtain confirmation from the Health Ministry that there is no medical objection to their possessing arms. Big Brother Computer, it seems, is preferable.

## POLARIZED SIBLINGS

By HELGA DUDMAN / Jerusalem Post Reporter

have much impact.

One could try to seek wisdom from this or that social psychologist — behavioural, Freudian, Jewish traditional or non-practising Catholic — but such wisdom would simply be determined by its source, and one would merely end up wondering why any particular expert ended up with his particular set of insights.

In the case of the brothers Arens, it might be said that their positions are actually two sides of the same extremist coin. If Moshe, our Defence Minister, is considered a right-wing nationalist extremist (a set of adjectives he would not accept), and if his brother Richard is, as he appears to be, a left-wing extremist who calls Israel's policies "genocidal," compares us to Nazis, and calls the present leadership "criminal," these can both be termed expressions of what is called the "ultra-authoritarian personality," which can take many guises. For all we know, there may be plenty of families in which, in addition, a sister is a Catholic nun, another brother a ruthless tycoon, and yet another who ended up a mystic vegetarian meditator.

WHAT OF the heritage from parent to child? Our political scene is rich in examples of children who reject their parents' ideology, leaping across the centre and going off to the other side, whether right or left.

Nor are parents at the political centre always better off. How many families comfortably established somewhere within the Israeli tradition, watch their sons and daughters become newly religious to the extent that they can no longer eat at home?

It is easy to say that those parents weren't successful in passing on their values because they didn't do it correctly, or that the family unit was so disturbed that the children had to look for another way of life. But why this particular son or daughter and not a brother or sister? What makes one set of

parents successful, and another spectacularly unsuccessful, in raising children who do not reject the values of the home, give or take the normal dose of rebellion and generational change in style?

Another theory says that we happen to be living in a curious period marked by a "search for something bigger," sometimes called "roots" and sometimes "pie in the sky," in which truth will be provided, and rules for living laid down from above.

The swing to fundamentalism in the '80s might be seen as analogous to the attraction of Marxist communism of the '30s, though there are plenty of differences. One is that the communist of 50 years ago thought that he was going to change the world, though it helped that his personal difficulties were absorbed by the larger cause. Today, however, the seeker after ultimate truth is usually trying to change just himself, and to find solutions to his personal problems.

The secular nationalist is a different kettle of fish, and does not fit another sub-theory which says that secular ideology withered away some while ago — unlike God, who was said to be dead a few years back, during the widespread triumph of rationalism, but is now seen to be alive and well.

THE RETREAT of rationalism brought us "doing one's thing" in the sixties. Since then it has taken the form of other personal solutions — drugs, sects, mysticism, faith. Does this happen only in affluent societies where people are no longer busy just earning a living? Is the superficially similar phenomenon of Moslem fundamentalism something totally different from what happens within the Jewish middle class? Or is some strange cosmic bug in the air everywhere?

In the case of young people turning to orthodoxy and/or nationalist activism, is there some common denominator in all cases, to be found among the hitherto successful

as well as among the hitherto disoriented, among former achievers and swimmers as well as among the dull and normal? Or is it, as the keepers of the truth would say, that "many and varied are the paths to our truth and to our monopoly on it."

Just as splits can occur within the family, so too the individual may change suddenly or gradually over the years. Here the old precept is: be a radical until 25, then be a successful conservative. But why does this rule apply only in some cases?

Objective events may bring about a change. The war in Lebanon did this, in certain cases: soldiers who had been leftish turned right, while others moved in the opposite direction. Are such changes predictable, even with regard to a group? Certainly not.

I REMEMBER a study made in the United States some years ago on the political attitudes of scientists. It was found that the more abstract the science, the more left-wing the scientist tended to be. Furthest left were the abstract mathematicians; then came the theoretical physicists and chemists; then on through the zoologists and botanists and other life scientists; and finally the doctors and engineers, prosperous and conservative. I don't know whether this correlation still holds, but the probable reasons explaining it are not hard to find.

It has also been suggested that leftists tend to be optimistic by nature (whatever the determinant of that nature may be), believing that mankind is improvable through the social system, through education, mother love, or whatever. Rightists, according to this view, are pessimists in the Hobbesian sense. They see that the life of man is endless combat, not to mention solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short; and that the best arrangement is therefore a strong rule imposed from above.

Or perhaps the answer is simply that such shifts from bohemianism or "normality" to orthodoxy, from the "humanist" left to the "rigid" right have simply been getting broader press coverage lately. These changes have, after all, been happening all along, without anyone paying too much attention.

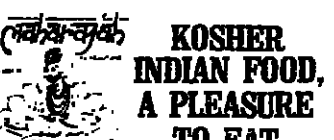
Meanwhile, I personally am not troubled by this multitude of questions and absence of answers. I have no idea whether I was born this way, or whether it is a tribute to my early childhood and education.



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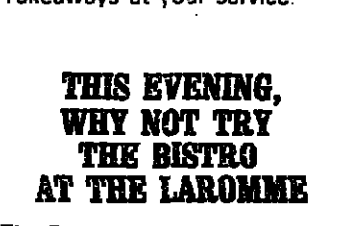
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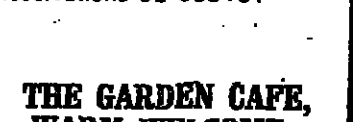
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## Builders say proposed new tax bills could spell their ruin

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**  
Scores of construction companies and hundreds of building contractors "may soon face bankruptcy or closure," unless changes are introduced into proposed new tax bills, the Federation of Contractors and Builders has warned.  
The bills are part of the so-called "taxation in inflationary conditions" legislation package proposed by the Treasury. They are currently being discussed by the Knesset Finance Committee.  
The builders are worried mainly by two items in the proposed law, Arye Kamin, the federation's director of tax and economic unit, told

The Jerusalem Post last week. "We want the tax authorities to be fair in the matter of land and rental housing," he said.  
"When a manufacturer invests in raw material and pays interest on that inventory, that interest is recognized as a business expense for tax purposes. Under the proposed law, the interest a builder pays on his land holdings is not granted that recognition."  
Similarly, he stated, under the new law builders of rental housing would not be permitted to claim income tax relief for the interest they pay on money borrowed to finance construction of these flats.

## Trying to consolidate El Al work c'tees

**TEL AVIV.** — The Histadrut last week took another step towards forcing El Al workers to form one shop committee — in place of the eight which in the past have sometimes competed with each other.  
The Labour Federation's plan, presented to the trade union department's top coordinating committee, calls for the establishment of a 34-member workers' council. Members, representing pilots, administrative staff and technical workers, will be elected to the council proportionately.  
The proposal was welcomed by representatives of the large clerks union for example, but was rejected

by others. A member of the senior workers' staff committee told The Jerusalem Post his group would be under-represented according to the plan. Unless the Histadrut changes it, "we'll change it ourselves," he said.  
However, Dan Shvartzbard, the Histadrut official handling the El Al workers affairs, insisted he will not yield to El Al "dictates."  
**NO PEDLARS.** — The Education Ministry has published a directive forbidding the sales of various items in schoolyards, except for books and school supplies, and then only in coordination with principals and parents committees.

## Graphic designs for every computer

**By LIOA MORIEL**  
**Jerusalem Post Reporter**  
**BERSHEBA.** — If Israel ever enters the space age, Mega Consultants may well be in the forefront of its satellite design and development.  
Menashe Ungar, the firm's director and whiz-kid, came to Israel three years ago from France — where he had worked for Tektronix as project manager. Here he developed a unique graphics software for mini and micro-computers, which is possibly the most advanced in the country.  
When his project was ready for marketing, he brought in Yair Weisman (founder and owner of the largest private construction and investment enterprise based in Israel) and Avi Dobzinski (an expert in marketing who also knows computers from the technical side).  
Mega Consultants, based now in Herzliya Pituah, is essentially a software house specializing in

computer-aided design (CAD) systems.  
"Graphics designs for computers were developed in the aerospace industries to solve extremely complex problems," Tuvia Tamir, Mega's director of marketing, explains. "The systems were designed for use with large computers, and cost thousands of dollars."  
"We are one of the first companies to develop simple graphics software which can be used on even the smallest computers."  
Because most software houses to date had to give their clients access to huge computers, they usually operated as service centres, says Tamir. According to him, these centres had three major drawbacks: the clients had to work outside their regular workspace; certain classified material could not leave the premises (which meant that sometimes industrial secrets could not be safeguarded from "spies";

and in cases of overload (when too many people wanted to use the computer at the same time) some clients naturally suffered expediting delays.  
"Each of our users has a unit in his office which lets him work at his convenience, and without fear of being copied. We do not offer a service centre, but, rather, we let each client be his own boss as far as the equipment is concerned," says Tamir.  
The Mega package includes the computer, the software, a graphics terminal, plotter, hard-copy and digitizer.  
Mega's clients today are both military and civilian — including Adiran, Indigo, Five Stars (Haifa), and Tahal — and it is actively engaged in securing overseas clients as well. Although most of the company's marketing is done in Israel, it is already working on joint ventures with firms in the U.S. and Australia.

## Ad boom is 'sign of affluent society'

**By CAROL COOK**  
**Jerusalem Post Reporter**  
**TEL AVIV.** — Israel is catching up with the U.S. in per capita advertising expenditure, reflecting an increasing trend towards mass consumption, according to Reuven Wimmer, chairman of the Israel Advertising Association.  
Net advertising expenditure totalled \$215 million last year, which amounts to 1 per cent of Israel's Gross National Product and 5 per cent of the state budget, and represents an increase of more than 41 per cent over 1981.  
"It's a sign of an affluent society, and of an increasing awareness of the benefits that advertising can yield," said Wimmer, who was interviewed shortly before the opening of the 1983 advertising congress at the Tel Aviv Hilton, which opens tonight and runs through Thursday.  
"The United States spends three to four times more per capita on advertising than Israel does — but several years ago it was six times more," he said.

In the absence of television as a commercial medium, Israeli newspapers earn the lion's share of advertising revenue — 58 per cent. Radio is next, with 11.1 per cent. Magazines account for 7.4 per cent, films and television service ads, 6.3 per cent, and the rest is divided among direct mail posters, billboards, and other media.  
The congress, which is the first such event to be held since 1972, expects to attract some 350 advertisers, agents, media representatives and professional suppliers for three days of lectures, seminars and discussions on issues facing the industry.  
Broadcasting director Tommy Lapid will chair a session on plans for introducing television advertising.  
**CORNERSTONE.** — The cornerstone to the Israel Defence Forces' central educational complex at Mt. Yonah, near Upper Nazareth, will be laid this morning.

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## Bank Leumi UK enlarges West End Branch

**LONDON.** — The growth and development of Bank Leumi in the UK took another step forward last week with the inauguration of enlarged premises at its West End branch.  
The ceremony coincided with the arrival of David Efrima — until now general manager of the main Jerusalem branch — as the new general manager of Leumi's British subsidiary. Efrima has been with the

group since 1951 and has headed the Jerusalem branch for the past nine years.  
At a reception Ernest Japhet, chairman of Bank Leumi, was present, as was the Lord Mayor of Westminster, in whose borough the branch is situated.  
The development of the West End branch follows closely on the heels of the opening in Leeds of the bank's first branch outside London.

## New York Stock Exchange

**NEW YORK.** — Stock prices continued higher to make a new high. The D.J. Industrial Average closed at 183.34, up 12 points. Volume rose to some 89 million shares. Advancing issues were 5 to 3 ahead of declines. On the most active list

ATT 67% up 1/4 IBM 112% up 2% and Int Harvester 9% up 1/4.

D.J. Avg.	1183	+12.00	Tevaco	34 1/2	+ 1/4
Transport	529.85	— .08	Union Carb.	62 1/2	n.c.
Utilities	126.51	+ .36	United Tech.	73 1/2	+ 1 1/2
Volume	88,461,800		US Steel	23	+ 1/4
D.J. LIST			Westinghouse	45 1/2	+ 1/4
Alcoa	8 1/2	n.c.	Woolworth	34 1/2	+ 1/4
Allied Chem.	48 1/2	+ 1/2	<b>GOLD &amp; SILVER</b>		
Amer Brand	30 1/2	+ 1/4	Gold Fix	443.00	+ 6.50
Amer Can	37 1/2	+ 1	Asa Lic.	73 1/2	+ 1 1/2
Amer Exp	62 1/2	— 1	Homestake	31 1/2	+ 1 1/2
Amer T & T	67 1/2	+ 1	<b>ISRAELI SHARES IN NY</b>		
Beth Steel	21 1/2	— 1/4	Amer Is Paper	1 1/2	+ 1/4
Chrysler	30 1/2	— 1/4	Ampal A	5 1/2	+ 1/4
Du Pont	43 1/2	— 1/4	Ampal Pfd.	15	16
East Kodak	83 1/2	+ 1 1/2	Alliance	21 1/2	+ 1/4
Exxon	62 1/2	n.c.	Electronics Ord.	18 1/2	19
Gen Elec.	111	+ 2 1/2	Elron Pfd.	19	19 1/2
Gen Food	41 1/2	— 1/4	Elcoint	25 1/2	25 1/2
Gen Motors	67 1/2	— 1/4	Elz Lavud	1 1/2	1 1/2
Goodyear	31 1/2	— 1/4	IDB Pfd.	1 1/2	1 1/2
Intl Bus.	11 1/2	+ 1/4	Interpharm	6 1/2	+ 1/4
Intl Harv.	9 1/2	+ 1/4	Laser Indus	13 1/2	+ 1/4
Intl Paper	52 1/2	+ 1/4	Scitex	22	22 1/2
Intl Nickel	13 1/2	+ 1/4	Taro-Vit	4 1/2	4 1/2
Owens	31 1/2	+ 1/4	Teva	6 1/2	7 1/2
Procter Gam.	63	+ 1/4			
Scars	39 1/2	— 1/4			
Sid Oil Co.	37	— 1/4			

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**ISRAEL DISCOUNT BANK LTD.**

**NOTICE TO SHAREHOLDERS**

Notice is hereby given that the Annual General Meeting of the Company will be held at the registered office of the Bank, 27/31 Yehuda Halevi Street, Tel Aviv, on Tuesday, May 3, 1983 at 10.00 a.m.

**AGENDA:**

- To receive and consider the profit and loss account and the balance sheet for 1982;
- To receive and consider the reports of the Directors and Auditors;
- To declare as final dividend the interim dividend paid on the 7.5% Redeemable Preference shares on May 11, 1982;
- To declare as final dividend for the year 1982 the 6% interim dividend paid on the Cumulative Preference shares on May 11, 1982;
- To elect Directors and Auditors and fix their remuneration;
- To transact any other business that may be transacted at an Ordinary Meeting.

Tel Aviv, April 19, 1983  
**THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS**

Shareholders may participate and vote at the Annual General Meeting either personally or by proxy, and, in case of a corporation, by a duly authorized representative. In accordance with Articles 69 and 70 of the Articles of Association of the Company, an instrument appointing a proxy or representative shall be signed by the shareholder making the appointment or by the corporation, as the case may be, shall state the number and class(es) of shares in respect of which it is given and shall be deposited at the registered office not less than 48 hours before the time for the holding of the Annual General Meeting.  
A proxy or a representative need not be a shareholder of the Company.

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Haifa: 11 Pal-Yam St. adjoining Zim building, Tel. 04-670725

Application forms now also available through branch offices of Israel Discount Bank, throughout the country.

## ISRAEL DISCOUNT BANK

## TWO-IN-ONE CROSSWORD

Use the same diagram for either the Cryptic or the Easy puzzle.

**CRYPTIC PUZZLE**

**ACROSS**

- 1 Eat turkey? (6)
- 7 Airy instruction to send fewer telegrams (8)
- 8 Bit of business in Jerusalem (4)
- 10 He's always in the pub (6)
- 11 Pay for a seat (6)
- 14 Solidly nourished (3)
- 16 Be like a jelly, perhaps, when surrounded (5)
- 17 Time in plenty, early on (4)
- 19 Drugged and fooled? (5)
- 21 The hard stuff for a railwayman (5)
- 22 It's wider than a narrow boat (5)
- 23 Live on a ship with a woman (4)
- 26 Leave art out of this talk! (5)
- 28 Girl of some capacity (3)
- 29 Like that split hair? (6)
- 30 A copy in black (6)
- 31 Group always with the same backing (4)
- 32 Deposited six deliveries of surplus (4, 4)
- 33 Beast of a slaver, possibly (6)

**DOWN**

- 2 Edward, a rising sleuth (3)
- 13 Jumps around with Aspel (5)
- 15 To start talking, in sum (5)
- 18 Run a bit more (5)
- 19 Half hidden lair (3)
- 20 Friendly letter to dad (3)
- 21 Sailor, a friend to many (7)
- 22 Bed of haricots (3)
- 23 There's many a snip in his line of business (6)
- 24 Nigel Balchin's island (4)
- 25 Footwear for a sand boy? (6)
- 26 Pine fruit? (5)
- 27 More than rough in tone? (5)
- 28 Common talk (3)
- 30 RAC's vehicles? (4)

**EASY PUZZLE**

**ACROSS**

- 1 Broken masonry (6)
- 7 Hand, winch (8)
- 8 Sheet (4)
- 10 Wheel radii (6)
- 11 Uncomplicated (6)
- 14 Allow (3)
- 16 Man-made material (5)
- 17 Layer (4)
- 19 Argued heatedly (5)
- 21 Wished (5)
- 22 Helped (5)
- 23 Hurried (4)
- 26 Blacksmith's block (5)
- 28 Garden tool (3)
- 29 Gams (6)
- 30 Ransacked (6)
- 31 Possesses (4)
- 32 Bureaus (8)
- 33 Small tower (6)

**DOWN**

- 1 Reddish-brown (6)
- 2 Tumbler (6)
- 3 Sheep (4)
- 4 Thought highly of (7)
- 5 Contented (5)
- 6 Grey (5)
- 8 Opposite extreme (4)
- 9 Obtain (3)
- 12 Insane (3)
- 13 French river (5)
- 15 Runs with long strides (5)
- 18 Senseless (5)
- 19 Stick (3)
- 20 Married (3)
- 21 Mound (7)
- 22 Tune (3)
- 23 Rather (6)
- 24 Household animals (4)
- 25 Take off (6)
- 26 Dismay (5)
- 27 Valleys (5)
- 28 In what way? (3)
- 30 Mislead (4)

**Sunday's Cryptic Solution**

**ACROSS** — 1. Paris, 6. Haydn, 9. Make hay, 10. Erup-t, 11. Relay, 12. Gears, 13. T-ar-ried, 15. Pot, 17. Star, 18. Bel-Eas, 19. Tiger, 20. Credit, 22. Fellow, 24. Had, 25. Prairie, 26. Habit, 27. Mixed, 28. Pista, 29. Ref-uses, 30. Asbes, 31. There, 32. Down, 33. A-B-road, 3. Imp-Art, 4. Set, 5. Met-Ed, 6. Harrier, 7. A-yes, 8. Dragon, 12. Get it, 13. T-each, 14. RI-L-ed, 15. Peter, 16. Table, 18. Heart, 19. Thrades, 21. Rabies, 22. Flank (Flankish), 23. Litter, 25. Plu-up, 26. Here, 28. Pa (rev).

**Sunday's Easy Solution**

**ACROSS** — 1. Guide, 6. Paste, 9. Evincod, 10. Agate, 11. Ridge, 12. Bust, 13. Angular, 15. Ate, 17. Star, 18. Bel-Eas, 19. Shout, 20. Delete, 22. Acre, 24. Exc, 25. Teacher, 26. Smeat, 27. Serum, 28. Emmet, 29. Respire, 30. Aster, 31. Angle, 32. Down, 33. Urgent, 3. Detour, 4. Eve, 5. Incur, 6. Persist, 7. Adit, 8. Tights, 12. Buth, 13. Aside, 14. Gable, 15. Aitch, 16. Elber, 18. Auger, 19. Summer, 21. Exacts, 22. Accumen, 23. Reveal, 25. Tamps, 26. Sure, 28. Era.

**Solutions to today's puzzle tomorrow**



## WHAT'S ON

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**Jerusalem MUSEUMS**  
Israel Museum, Exhibitions: Permanent Collection of Judaism: Art and Archaeology; Bezael 1406-1499; Portables; Letterheads by Pentagram; Primitive Art from Museum collection; How to Look at a Painting; Special Exhibits: Seder Plate, Vienna 1925; Japanese Miniature Sculpture, 18th-19th cent; Netsuke and Inro; Pileus Souvenir Objects and Christian Lamps; Clay Jug and Juglet, Middle Canaanite Period 11A; Kadesh Barnea, fortress from Judean Kingdom (Rockefeller Museum); Wonderful World of Paper (Paley Centre next to Rockefeller Museum); Illuminated Haggadah, 18th cent. 52 Months to Job One — Designing the Ford Sierra; Sefer M'ataseh Tuvya; Raphael in Prints. Visiting Hours: Main Museum 4-10, At 4.30 Guided tour in English, 4.30. Creative Theatre, "Sounds and Feelings."

**CONDUCTED TOURS**  
HADASSAH — Guided tour of all installations. Hourly tours at Kiryat Hadassah and Hadassah Mt. Scopus. Information, reservations 02-416333, 02-436327.

**Hebrew University**  
1. Tours in English at 9 and 11 a.m. from Administration Building, Givat Ram Campus. Buses 9 and 28.  
2. Mount Scopus tours 11 a.m. from the Bronfman Reception Centre, Sherman Building, Buses 9 and 28 to last stop. Further details: Tel. 02-682819.

**American Mizrahi Women. Free Morning Tours** — 8 Alkalai Street, Jerusalem, Tel. 02-69222.

**CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM TOUR**, Call 02-661444.

**Tel Aviv MUSEUMS**  
Tel Aviv Museum, New Exhibitions: New Painting from Germany, 1945-1950; Joshua Gessel Collection; Castelli, McLean, Paladino, A.R. Penck, Expedition to the Holy Land, Continuing Exhibitions: Helmar Lerski, Photographs 1910-1947, Michal Na'aman 1975-1983 (Helena Rubinstein Pavilion). Visiting Hours: Sat. 10-28, Sun.-Thur. 10 a.m.-10 p.m. Fri. closed.  
Helena Rubinstein: New Exhibition — Michal Na'aman 1975-1983, Visiting Hours: Sat. 10-28, Sun.-Thur. 9-1, Fri. closed.  
**CONDUCTED TOURS**  
American Mizrahi Women. Free Morning Tours — Tel Aviv, Tel. 220187, 243106.  
WIZO: To visit our projects call Tel Aviv, 212934; Jerusalem, 226080; Haifa, 89537.  
**PIONEER WOMEN** — NA'AMAT, Morning tours, call for reservations: Tel Aviv, 256096.  
**MISCELLANEOUS**  
Hadassah Visitors Dept. Please call 03-491489.

**Haifa Golden Age Club** (Rothschild Community Centre, Mt. Carmel), today 4.15: Slide lecture, "The Phillips Family and the Jews," by Mr. R. Brav. Guests and new members welcome. What's On in Haifa, dial 04-646680.

**The Weizmann Institute**, Grounds open to public from 8.00 a.m. to 3.30 p.m. Visitors invited to see audio-visual programme on Institute's research activities, shown regularly at 11.00 a.m. and 3.15 p.m. Friday 11.00 a.m. only.

**Tours of the Weizmann House** every half hour from 10.00 to 3.30 p.m. Sunday to Thursday. National fee for admission to Weizmann House. No visits on Saturdays and holidays.

## GENERAL ASSISTANCE

**EMERGENCY PHARMACIES**

Jerusalem: Shaare Zedek, Beit Vegan, 555502; Bikan, Salah Eddin, 272151; Sha'af, Shu'at al Rasid, 810108; Dar Eldawa, Herod's Gate, 283058.  
Tel Aviv: Concept, Neot Afeka, 490020; Kaput Holim Clinic, 7 Amsterdam, 225142; Netanya: Hasmagen, 13 Weizmann, 22985; Haifa: Alisa, 44 Alisa, 522062; Milzan, K. Yam, 706680.

**FIRST AID**

Magén David Adom first aid centres are open from 8 p.m. to 7 a.m. Emergency home calls by doctors at fixed rates. Sick Fund members should enquire about rebate.  
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Ashdod 2222, Nazareth 54333, Ashkelon 23333, Netanya 23333, Bat Yam 585555/6, Petah Tikva 912333, BeerSheva 78333, Rehovot 054-51333, Eilat 72333, Rishon LeZion 942333, Hadera 22333, Safed 30333, Holon 8031334, Tiberias 20111, Nahariya 923333.

**DUTY HOSPITALS**

Jerusalem: Shaare Zedek (pediatrics, surgery, orthopedics, ophthalmology), Bikur Holim (internal, obstetrics, E.N.T.), Tel Aviv: Rokah (pediatrics), Ichilov (internal, surgery).  
Netanya: Laniado (obstetrics, internal, pediatrics, gynecology).  
Vilgas Ladach: Open five 4-6 p.m. every Monday answers to obstetrics, gynecological, sterility, sexual functioning and family planning problems. Tel. 02-633356.

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# Kreisky's complaint

By GWYNNE DYER / Special to The Jerusalem Post

"I FEEL like a donkey between two haystacks," Austria's Chancellor Bruno Kreisky remarked shortly after calling general elections for April 24. "If I win a majority I'll have to stay. But if there has to be a coalition, I'll have a chance to retire. I'm too old to run a coalition. I'm not one of those who claim to have aged without growing old."

At 72 some men are still in vigorous good health, but Kreisky suffers from hypertension, kidney trouble, failing eyesight and a host of other troubles. He has ruled Austria with great success for 13 years, but now he would like to retire to his small holiday villa in Majorca. At least he says he would.

"In principle I would like to end my public life now. I've been in government posts for 30 years, and that's quite a lot. But there's no doubt that my party, and a lot of people beyond my party, want me to stay on for a few more years."

The Austrian Socialist Party would certainly not win enough votes to form another government without Kreisky at its head, but with him the Socialists just might win a clear majority of seats again. That would give Kreisky another four

years to run his country, and to pour often unwelcome but usually sound advice into the ears of every other leader he encounters.

Kreisky was the first European leader to invite Yasser Arafat to come and talk. More recently he has done the same with Libya's Colonel Gaddafi — not because he admires the men, but because he firmly believes that talking to everybody is vital to the preservation of peace.

The conservative opposition occasionally tries to use Kreisky's preoccupation with foreign affairs against him — "Austria is more im-

portant than Begin or Arafat," complained Alois Mock, the opposition leader — but most Austrians realize that the world does not stop at their borders. If Kreisky does not manage to pull off another outright victory this time, the reasons will be domestic, not foreign.

Austria's 7.5 million people have few natural resources except mountains and meadows. They live by their skills and their wit, paying their way in the world by exporting a remarkable 36 per cent of what they produce. For 13 years Kreisky's government has managed to ensure continuous prosperity and

almost full employment despite the vicissitudes of the world outside, but now the insulation seems to be breaking down.

Only a year ago Kreisky was saying: "We can tolerate a great deal, but not unemployment." Since then unemployment has about doubled to 4 per cent — low by European standards, but unprecedented in Austria. Inflation is also relatively low at 7 per cent and Austria hardly ever experiences a strike, but there has been almost no growth in the Austrian economy for two successive years. If the voters decide to blame somebody for this, the Socialist government will pay the price.

Even then the conservative People's Party would probably not win enough seats to form a government on its own. The likely outcome would be the kind of all-party coalition that was the rule until 1966, when the Socialists first won an outright victory.

Kreisky is probably right in saying that he is too old and weary for the strain of running that sort of coalition. In that case he would retire.

Kreisky does not suffer from false modesty. One of the reasons he is

tempted to stay on, he says, is that the world's political and economic troubles are complicated by "a tremendous lack of experience." He has now held power longer than any other European leader, and can remember dealing personally with the Russians in the Fifties, or with the social and political upheavals of the Sixties. That kind of experience is as valuable as it is rare.

When Kreisky warns that unless the West negotiates seriously with the Soviet Union on arms control, it risks "a youth rebellion in democratic countries much deeper and more serious than the student revolts of 1968," he knows what he is talking about. When he stresses that the Russians can be negotiated with successfully, he speaks with the authority of one who bargained with them for his entire country — and won.

Almost 30 years ago, Kreisky helped to negotiate the withdrawal of Soviet occupation troops and the reunification of Austria in return for a promise of permanent Austrian neutrality. It was worth doing, and the bargain has been kept.

The writer is a London-based freelance journalist.



Bruno Kreisky... "Like a donkey between two haystacks." (Rubinger)

## Too close for comfort

By SIDNEY WEILAND / London

collusion, but a British spokesman said both actions and other Western expulsions "demonstrated a common determination by Western governments not to tolerate such activities by the Soviet Union."

In Paris, a government spokesman said France was proving "it has no intention of being gutless," in dealing with spies who use diplomatic or other official cover.

Another French source said the rash of recent Western expulsions resulted "from a rather parallel feeling of being fed up with the volume of Soviet espionage activity."

Although governments take their

decisions independently, they keep in close touch on intelligence gathering through the Brussels-based NATO Secretariat. Names of Soviet suspects are exchanged by NATO intelligence services on a regular basis.

Intelligence sources say detailed dossiers are kept on all Soviet officials, and mass expulsions can be triggered off as much by political as security considerations. What causes a government to say "enough is enough" is rarely disclosed.

WESTERN OFFICIALS believe

the latest crackdown may be due to a threefold combination of reasons: Sharper Western surveillance, more brazen spying by Soviet agents, and — to a lesser extent — incriminating disclosures by KGB defectors.

All agree that Western governments have taken a tougher line in letting Moscow know that some of its activities go beyond the limits of a generally accepted "tolerance threshold."

Intelligence sources say Soviet diplomats based in Western capitals have broken tacitly acknowledged rules of behaviour by operating with

increasing openness in their hunt for sensitive information, especially in the field of high technology.

The French newspaper *Le Monde* said Soviet efforts to glean French technological secrets have intensified in the past two years, with the Toulon submarine base a prime target.

Soviet diplomats and military attaches in Britain and the United States have been tracked to public libraries, consulting and photocopying publications dealing with defence.

Soviet Naval Attaché Anatoly Zotov was expelled from Britain last December after British sources said he had tried to build up a network of agents to get classified information.

A month later, NATO sources said a Soviet aviation official was asked to leave Belgium after he was caught receiving information about the American F-16 fighter from a Belgian engineer.

Italy ordered the arrest of two Russians — a businessman and a Soviet airline official — in February on spying charges.

Since January, Soviet officials have been expelled from Spain, the Netherlands, and Denmark. In February, West Germany arrested a Soviet trade official whom they suspected of spying.

Neutral Switzerland and Sweden have also acted against Soviet

diplomats. Three were expelled by Switzerland this year and two by Sweden last December.

Two trade officials were expelled by Norway, two diplomats by Portugal, and a military attaché by the U.S. last year.

IN THE Third World, expulsions were disclosed in the last two years in Egypt, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore.

As international cooperation in economic and other fields has increased, the Soviet Union has used the opportunity to pack its embassies with technical specialists, say Western officials.

Until last week's exodus from France, there were 2,400 Soviet citizens in Paris, 700 with diplomatic passports, a three-fold rise over 10 years.

Under rules set by Britain, the Soviet presence in London is automatically cut by one whenever a Russian is expelled for activities which Britain judges to be improper.

The U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation said last year that one-third of all Soviet diplomats in Washington worked for the KGB. Other NATO intelligence analysts believe the proportion may be similar in most West European capitals.

(Reuter News Service)

## Spain out in the cold

By BRIAN MOONEY / Madrid

community within the four-year life of the new parliament, was fast fading. The community had officially shunned Spain for its undemocratic

ways during the dictatorship of General Franco. When he died in 1975, its members made encouraging overtures to help ease the transition to democracy.

The transition was arguably completed with last year's Socialist vic-

tory, which brought the left back to power for the first time since the 1936-39 Civil War with no sign of revolt.

Gonzalez's victory also seemed to augur well because fellow socialist Francisco Mitterrand was in power in France, which had been the chief opponent of Spanish EC membership. But Spanish Socialists no longer have illusions about fraternal French assistance, nor about prizes for democracy.

The more down-to-earth attitude in Madrid also partly explains a decision to freeze Spanish integration into the military wing of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Spanish officials said.

They said that Spain was prepared to use the NATO card in its bargaining for EC membership terms.

"One conclusion we have come to is that most countries in the community have been hiding behind France as an excuse to put off our membership," one official said.

OFFICIALS said that Madrid had concluded that enlargement of the EC to include Spain and Portugal would require a decision by the 10 existing members to spend more money and to reform the Common Agriculture Policy (CAP).

"If there is no change in CAP and no willingness to spend more, then Spain cannot become a member," one official said.

CAP regulates agriculture prices and subsidies and would require a major overhaul to accommodate a sudden influx of cheap Spanish produce.

Spain stands most to gain by expanding its markets for citrus fruits, olive oil and similar produce, but most to lose by exposing its industrial and banking sectors to the more sophisticated competition of the 10 EC members.

The two conflicting interests lie at the heart of the negotiations between Spain and the community.

The Spanish officials say that the EC is trying to get the better of Spain on both fronts by insisting on

## CLASSIFIEDS

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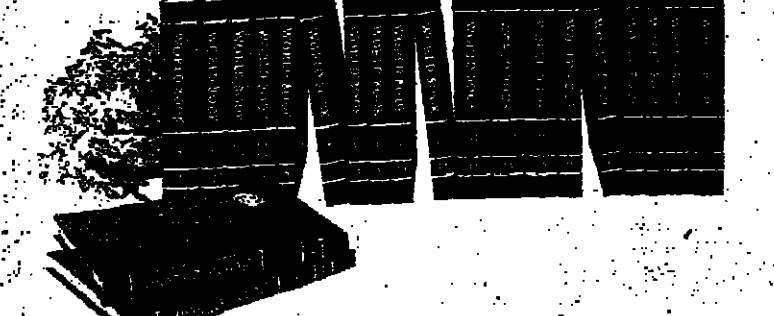
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Iyar 6, 5743 • Rajab 6, 1403

## A welcome change

THE ISRAEL Defence Forces today have a new chief of staff. Like the earlier replacement of Ariel Sharon as Defence Minister, so the departure of Rafael Eitan comes as a relief. Never in the nation's experience has there been a chief of staff so insensitive to the proper limits of his position, so imbued with militarist values, so alien to the liberal spirit of a democratic society, as Eitan.

He was the first army chief, taking a cue perhaps from Sharon, to deliberately snub and show public contempt for the Knesset and its members. He was the first to engage, constantly and obstinately, in partisan political debate. He was the first to openly brutalize and dehumanize perception of the Arab as foe. And he was the first to have the distinction of being criticized for his excesses by the President of the state.

Criticism of his public performance has, throughout, been tempered by recognition of his outstanding military record, especially in the years before he was chief of staff. That record can certainly not be denigrated. But it should have no bearing on the judgement that must be made of the values he has embodied and proclaimed as the army's top commander. Those values, reminiscent of the landed military castes of 19th and early twentieth century Europe allergic to the inroads of democracy, have always been alien to Israel. Eitan strived to give them legitimacy, to inculcate them in the nation's youth, to raise them to a national virtue.

That he genuinely believes the ethos of arms to be the condition of Zionist survival does not diminish the corrosive impact of his example. For by so reducing the Zionist ideal, embalm-ing it in the spectre of the garrison state, he would drain the humanizing vision and vitality which has been the soul of the Zionist enterprise.

Obviously, he would not have been able to strut about the public stage as he did without the active acquiescence of his superiors, and especially the Prime Minister.

It matters little whether Mr. Begin's unwillingness to call Eitan to order derived from his respect for the soldier, or from a general reluctance to curb wayward subordinates which he displays as well with cabinet ministers. For acquiescence becomes consent.

With the departure of Eitan, a more muted, professional and less ideological tone can now be expected from the new team at the top of the defence establishment. Arens, Rav Aluf Moshe Levy and Aluf David Ivri.

However, a vacuum remains: namely the need to reassert the nation's devotion to military duties, necessities and values in the context of Jewish and democratic ideals of civilization and peace. The voice of this vision has been unheard for too long. It has been silent on the military level, and it has been silent on the political level.

That silence, in the Jewish State, cannot be its natural condition.

## U.S. EMBASSY BLAST

(Continued from Page One)

national news agency offices outside Iran, also reported the bomb blast under a Beirut dateline.

Irna said reports on the incident "are contradictory and no person or group has claimed responsibility for the explosion." It made no reference to the pro-Iranian group which claimed responsibility for the attack.

Irna recalled in its dispatch however that 23 persons were killed and nearly 100 injured last February when the Beirut office of the Palestine Research Centre and the adjacent Libyan Embassy were wrecked by a powerful bomb blast. "Palestinian freedom fighters later vowed to retaliate on the perpetrators of this criminal act," Irna added, in what appeared to be an attempt to blame Palestinians for the embassy bomb attack.

Irna also quoted the official representative of the PLO in Teheran, Sala Zawawi, as saying he had "received with gladness" the news of the attack on the U.S. Embassy.

Irna added that Zawawi in a statement to the Iranian news agency also expressed the hope "that the explosion would serve as a first instance of a series of new operations against U.S. interests in the region." Zawawi added that he was hopeful that the embassy explosion would be taken as a serious response to U.S. threats against the Middle East, Irna added.

The blast at 1:05 p.m. collapsed the building's centre section from the ground to the roof like a layer cake, and a body could be seen dangling from the fifth floor, its arms and legs hanging down and dripping blood.

Two other wings of the embassy were still standing, although they sustained heavy damage.

Special U.S. envoys Philip Habib and Morris Draper were in the presidential palace eight kilometres away at the time of the explosion. But Draper's wife was visiting the embassy, and he raced back to the compound to search for her. A U.S. Marine said she was taken to a hospital with cuts on the temple.

A towering cloud of smoke was seen rising from the area of the em-

bassy shortly after the explosion.

Ambassador Dillon, who was trapped for a while in the rubble of the explosion, said yesterday, "We have got to continue" the peace effort.

Dillon, speaking to reporters outside the embassy's shattered facade, said:

"The negotiations will go ahead. It's a tragedy, and you can imagine how sad and angered we all are, but it doesn't change anything. The U.S. mission will continue."

The white-haired diplomat, who has been in Lebanon for more than two years, said that he was standing up, a telephone in one hand and a T-shirt in another, when the blast occurred.

"I was preparing to go out and jog when all of a sudden my office collapsed," said Dillon, referring to his top-floor office in the building.

"I was unable to move. Someone picked the rubble off me and my secretary and deputy Bob Hugh pushed the rubble off me. I went out the window and down a few floors and then out," said Dillon.

The helicopter carrier USS Guadalcanal of the U.S. Sixth Fleet special task force in the Mediterranean cruised to a position facing the embassy about half a kilometre offshore, and a second ship pulled to within a few hundred metres of the Lebanese port about 1.6 kms away.

Lebanese President Amin Jemayel arrived at the scene and spoke to marine commander Mead for a few minutes, and toured the wreckage of the embassy. Jemayel sent a telegram to U.S. President Ronald Reagan, denouncing the bombing as a "criminal act" and expressing hope that U.S. peace-making efforts would not be affected.

Prime Minister Shafik Wazzan convened an emergency meeting of Lebanon's National Security Council and then told reporters the army and police have taken "certain measures and certain arrangements" to cope with the attack.

He did not spell out the moves but said: "We have clues that make us certain we shall at the end establish the identity of the culprits."

The American Embassy was the target of rocket attacks in the past, many of which were also claimed by the pro-Iranian Shi'ite groupings in Lebanon, claiming the U.S. backed Iraq in the war with Iran.

Other embassies have been attacked in Beirut since the 1975-1976 civil war between Lebanon's rightist Christian forces and an alliance of leftist Moslems and Palestinians. These included the embassies of France, West Germany, Saudi Arabia, Switzerland, Iraq, Libya, Iran, Egypt, Sudan, Jordan and Kuwait.

IN A PREVIOUS article ("Understanding U.S. Policy," *The Jerusalem Post*, March 22), I attempted to analyse American policy in the region with special reference to Lebanon, concluding that the basic rationale of this policy is to be found in Washington's desire to disengage Syria and the PLO from their pro-Soviet orientation in order to bring them into the American orbit.

Now that the negotiations concerning future Israel-Lebanon relations seem to be approaching some kind of a formal agreement — as they probably will, despite the tragic terrorist attack on the American embassy in Beirut — it is timely to inquire into the next phase.

Quite advisedly I used the circumlocution of "negotiations concerning future relations" rather than speaking of Israeli-Lebanese negotiations. This because the United States, whether by participating in the formal talks (in a way, the least important part of the negotiations) or in other ways, has become a full, even a dominant, party to them. Israel hopes that the approaching agreement will bring security to its northern border and will prevent Syria and the PLO from continuing to hold threatening positions in Lebanon.

It hopes so, but is rightly sceptical. In the past, Israel also hoped that the agreement would, in addition, prove a further step in the peace process. To borrow President Reagan's recent statement that he would like to see "more Egyptians," Israel was looking forward to a peace treaty with Lebanon paralleling the one with Egypt, as a second stage in the march towards the goal of "comprehensive peace."

It no longer expects this to happen, because neither of the two other parties want it.

When I say that "they don't want it," I should qualify the statement: In Lebanon, there are many conflicting currents, and certain factors are all in favour of peace and good-neighbourliness with Israel; but responding to Arab pressure and to the attitude of the U.S. government, the Lebanese have decided to reject both formal peace and full normalization.

As for the United States government, one would be foolish to maintain that it would not wish for such a peace. It certainly would, except for its belief that a peace treaty at this point would clash with overriding American interests in the area by

# AFTER LEBANON

By BENJAMIN AKZIN

alienating Arab governments and groupings which Washington desires to bring closer.

And so, the result of the current negotiations, and of the whole Lebanese campaign, will be an agreement short of peace.

Optimists will say that peace will follow in due course. Pessimists will say that an opportunity has been missed to make peace with a second Arab country and to encourage others to follow suit. A further school of thought in Israel will point to the entire episode as proof that co-existence with Arab states is easier to achieve on a *de facto* basis, without formal agreements, than on a formalized, *de jure* basis.

BUT WHAT comes next? Immediately after the agreement is concluded, the efforts already going on in the direction of a "comprehensive peace" — which, as Washington has been continually insisting of late, includes "the solution of the Palestinian question" — will move into gear.

The immediate focus of these efforts will remain King Hussein, who despite his declaration of a few days ago, is to be brought to the negotiating table. This is Israel's desire, too.

But let us be clear about the difference in the various attitudes: Israel wants Jordan to come in on the basis of Camp David, bringing with it representative Arabs from Judea, Samaria and Gaza. The United States wants it to join on the basis of the Reagan Plan, stoutly maintaining that the plan is quite consistent with Camp David. Possibly, this difference might be overcome, as indeed is held by Labour leaders.

But then comes the further factor: under pressure from various Arab quarters, including the PLO, Jordan regards the Reagan Plan itself as merely a starting point, to be interpreted extensively to Israel's disadvantage and to lead to further demands upon Israel in line with the Fez resolution. Even as a condition for entering negotiations, Hussein

— whether on his own initiative or under pressure — demands concessions from Israel and commitments from Washington.

Supposing the negotiations actually take place, Jordan again responding to similar pressures, will go on demanding more, just as Lebanon did once the negotiations got underway. In fact, more so, because Jordan lacks the elements which regard peace with Israel to be vital to their own interests, such as exist in Lebanon.

And the United States, once more a party to the talks, will be driven by its overall conception of what it seeks to achieve in the region to repeat its performance by at least passively backing the Jordanian position and pressuring Israel to give in; only this time it will be done with respect to areas to which Israel is still more sensitive than it is to Southern Lebanon.

Even the Reagan Plan as it stands today does not expressly demand a formal peace between Israel and Jordan, either as part of the "transitional measures" or as part of the "final status"; it merely uses the very diplomatic formula that "the U.S. position... will be significantly influenced by the extent and nature of the peace and security arrangements being offered in return."

In a burst of frankness, the plan adds: "We can offer guarantees on the positions we will adopt in negotiations. We will not be able, however, to guarantee in advance the results of those negotiations."

Israeli diplomats will certainly accept the second sentence, while maintaining a wise reserve concerning the first one, which leaves uncertain the nature of American attitudes behind the negotiating table, both in Amman and in Jerusalem.

Inevitably, should it enter the negotiations after all, Jordan will exhibit an inflexibility much greater than that of Lebanon, while Washington will continue to be influenced by its overall conception. The likely result will be a far-reaching Israeli retreat from the

position held not only by Likud but also by Labour without achieving peace. In the east, as well as in the north, the pursuit of a "comprehensive peace" will thus lead to a situation of no-peace.

TWO MORE aspects of the scenario should be mentioned in the interest of clarification. One of them concerns Jordan. There is really no vital necessity for Jordan to enter the negotiations, for its present situation is quite satisfactory.

As against this, Jordan has two good reasons to avoid direct involvement. Whatever the outcome of the talks, Jordan is sure to displease one at least of the competing factors in the Arab world, the support of which Amman is anxious to secure. Furthermore, whatever form the connection between Jordan and any areas west of the river is to take as a result of the talks, the kingdom's internal stability will certainly be endangered by the increased weight of unruly elements on both sides of the river.

Only Egypt, anxious to escape its present position as the sole Arab country living in peace with Israel, is interested in having Jordan follow suit. Jordan itself has no such interest.

Of course, this situation enables Jordan to be firm both *vis-à-vis* the United States and *vis-à-vis* the PLO, so much so that certain circles in Washington are reported to envisage a mere behind-the-scenes role for Jordan in the negotiations with Israel, leaving the United States as the only party openly confronting Israel more or less on behalf of Jordan and the other Arab parties — a bizarre idea which would destroy any claim to impartiality and would obviously be abhorrent to Israel.

THE SECOND aspect concerns President Reagan's personal position. In view of the commanding role which presidents play in the American governmental structure, this is an aspect of utmost importance.

I have no doubt but that President Reagan entered office with genuine friendship for Israel and with a firm belief in the value of American-Israeli cooperation. But gradually the very different attitude of his advisers — some of whom he himself brought to Washington and who did not share his views — prevailed and influenced his own thinking as well. There is also the fact that not all spokesmen for

Israel with whom he came into contact found the right note on which to deal with him.

And so now he is resentful. He shows this resentment by speaking out more clearly than the spokesmen for the State Department who, though basically far more unfriendly, are more careful in formulating their statements. Occasionally, he incautiously shows the cards which they had prepared but would rather keep hidden.

Perhaps it is just as well that he does so. The least this accomplishes is to prevent falling Israel into underrating the dangers it faces.

Some commentators refer to a possible improvement of the situation as the U.S. elections approach. It is better to leave this factor out of the equation. American electoral considerations and promises have proved, at any rate with regard to Israel, to be of little weight and of only momentary value, whether the candidates making the promises were sincere at the time (as Reagan certainly was) or not.

I prefer looking at the issues on the basis of intrinsic policy considerations. But if elections are to be a consideration, I wonder whether the entire idea of winning elections on the basis of achievements in the Middle East is not a mistake.

President Carter attempted it, first by envisaging a settlement under joint U.S.-Soviet auspices in the summer of 1977, and then — after being surprised by the direct Egyptian-Israeli talks and their disclosure by President Sadat — by joining and taking a leading part in the peace negotiations between the two countries.

None of this helped him to be re-elected. There is no reason to assume that insistence on the implementation of the Reagan Plan or of a modified version thereof, would prove more successful an asset in the coming presidential campaign.

On the other hand, pro-Israel statements made during an electoral campaign have proven to be of no value either, except for a few short weeks when made on behalf of a functioning president running for re-election.

It is better, therefore, if all those involved were to disregard the electoral aspect and to concentrate instead on the merits of the issue.

The writer is emeritus professor of political science and constitutional law at the Hebrew University.

## READERS' LETTERS

### DIVIDENDS

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post*: Sir. — It is now a generally accepted rule that limited companies in Israel do not pay cash dividends. The shareholders receive only a bonus in shares. In my opinion, this is not sound.

A genuine investor buys shares for income. At least I did so, to have an income in my old age. With the terrible inflation we have here, dividend income is not adequate, and healthy companies can and did compensate their shareholders by distributing bonus shares. A distribution of only bonus shares gives nothing to the investor; if not done in order to adjust cash dividends.

Cash dividends create buyers, distribution of shares only creates steady sellers. Good cash dividends remain the major factor in a buyer's decision. HERMANN ELLERN Jerusalem.

### GUATEMALA TRAGEDY

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post*: Sir. — I have just visited an exhibit about the land and people of Guatemala. I was moved by the country's natural and cultural beauty. At the same time, I was both appalled and saddened by photographs of death squad victims and of government soldiers whose sole purpose is to repress their own people.

But what tore at my heart the most was the final photograph of the display which, although placed where it was to underlie the tragedy

of Guatemala, held another significance for me because I am a Jew. It showed a young Guatemalan soldier with a Galil assault rifle slung over his shoulder.

If being Jewish means living by the principles of justice and righteousness, then it hardly seems that such policies as selling weapons to brutally repressive regimes (i.e. Guatemala) belong on Israel's foreign policy agenda.

RONALD LIEBMAN

New York.

### HOLOCAUST LITERATURE

To the Editor of *The Jerusalem Post*: Sir. — Among the mass of material which continues to pour forth in the wake of the Holocaust 40 years after the Holocaust, it is rare indeed to come across a clearer and more dignified presentation than the one made by Dr. Israel Goldstein ("The Holocaust and American Jewry," April 10).

The greatness of a Jewish leader is reflected in the courage of a Dr. Israel Goldstein who, *post facto* personally and publicly accepts part of the collective responsibility for "not

having done enough," when he could readily have, and with much justification, directed the blame elsewhere. This genuine humility forthcoming in Dr. Goldstein's profound *widut* is a characteristic sadly lacking among those who choose to make the Holocaust a banal journalistic vehicle for every conceivable issue on the Jewish agenda.

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